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ABSTRACT

This volume on political participation and voting is designed to provide teachers with useful classroom information and materials. Students are offered: (1) the information they want and need about voter registration, voting procedures, and the political process; (2) direct involvement ideas, either in real-world campaigns and elections or in-school activities that closely approximate real-world political activities; and (3) activities that interest students while educating them about the political process. Four units are included: (1) causes and effects of low voter turnout; (2) voter registration and voting procedures; (3) activity options; and (4) a presidential election year. (DB)

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Political Participation

A program developed by the
OHIO SECRETARY OF STATE
Sherrod Brown, Secretary of State

In cooperation with the
OHIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Dr. Franklin Walter, Superintendent of Public Instruction

SO021121

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INTRODUCTION

Why are we concerned about the low voter turnout in U.S. elections? More specifically, why do we believe it is important to increase voter turnout among 18-24 year olds?

Our concern is based on the statement in the Declaration of Independence that "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Low participation in elections raises questions about whether the governed have truly given their consent, therefore whether government is exercising its "just powers." In other words, the very legitimacy of government may be questioned when half or more of the eligible voters ("the governed") do not participate in elections (give "their consent"), and the proportion of nonvoters is increasing.

It is particularly worrisome that only about one-fourth of 18-24 year olds vote, because this youngest age group is just beginning its political adulthood, and its low level of participation bodes ill both for its short-term influence on public policy and for its long-term involvement in representative government.

Low voter turnout hurts our democratic system because voting is the most basic activity that makes a person a participant in our government. As more people withdraw from even this minimum level of participation, politics becomes dominated by groups that have intense narrow interests that may not always reflect the best public policy. This decline in voting, especially among the young, does not bode well for the future pool of volunteers and leaders that keep a democratic society functioning. The decline reflects a widespread inattentiveness that allows public officials to get away with incompetence and corruption, that diminishes the check on authoritarianism, and that raises the chances that people who do not participate in the system may go outside the system to get results.

This is a "how-to" book. There are dozens of teachers who are already conducting student elections, mock conventions, registration drives, and other student-participation activities that teach their students how to be effective participants in elections and that get them excited about being part of the political process. But there are hundreds more teachers who would like to introduce their students to these activities but who do not have the time or the resources to undertake such programs. This book pulls together all the materials needed.

History of the Program

In 1979, the Ohio Secretary of State and the Ohio Department of Education collaborated on a booklet entitled Practical Politics, a first-of-its-kind single source for teachers of American government who wanted to explain the election system to their students and encourage their participation in that process. It was so well received that a revised edition was published, other states adapted the book to their laws for use in their schools, and Ohio published in 1981 a corresponding book for elementary school teachers — Improving Voting in Ohio Through Education.

By 1982, two-thirds of Ohio's school districts were participating in the Practical Politics program, but by 1989 the supply of books was exhausted and teacher turnover had resulted in decreasing numbers of Ohio students having access to this effective citizenship program. In the meantime, two studies of high school students documented effective voter registration techniques and identified the needs of students in the area of voter education.

In 1985 the League of Women Voters, with cooperation from the Ohio Secretary of State and the Ohio Department of Education, surveyed more than 2000 Ohio high school seniors to determine their levels of interest and information about the election system, the sources of their information, and the reasons for their interest. Based on the results of that survey, the League published a "First Voter's Guide" and, a "Teacher's Guide" to Ohio registration and voting procedures. In the spring of 1986, four local Leagues used these materials to conduct a variety of registration programs in high schools to test which programs were most effective in actually getting 18-year-olds to register to vote.

In spring 1988, eight metropolitan Leagues took the programs that had proved most effective into the high schools in their counties. Approximately 25,000 18-year-olds in 168 high schools were registered to vote either in class or at assembly programs devoted to registration. Also in 1988, People For The American Way described, in "The Vanishing Voter and the Crisis in American Democracy," a remarkably effective voter registration program conducted annually in Dade County, Florida, high schools. Computer printouts of eligible students were generated by the central office and sent to social studies teachers, along with voter registration forms. Completed forms were sent to the social studies department head, where they were checked for completeness and forwarded to the county elections office. An astounding 98.4% of eligible students were registered to vote.

These success stories, and dozens of individual success stories from teachers all over Ohio, validate the findings of the 1985 League "Youth and the Elections System" study: Students who have information and involvement will have the

interest to participate in our democratic political system. Now it is clear that a broader program of voter education is needed, one that goes beyond voter registration and voting procedures. Students also need hands-on experience with campaign activities and with the post-election activities that implement the results of elections.

Purpose and Design

This book is designed to provide teachers with the information and materials they need to be able to provide students with:

1. the information they want and need about registration, voting procedures, and the political process;
2. direct involvement, either in real-world campaigns and elections or in-school activities that closely approximate real-world political activities;
3. activities that will interest students while educating them about the political process.

The materials and procedural directions in this book are sufficient in themselves if no other resources are available, but there are lots of suggestions about where to find additional materials and people who can help teachers be more effective with less effort.

Since one of the goals is to encourage students to participate in the political process, the program is designed to give them many opportunities to participate in a variety of activities on a variety of levels. Students can, of course, participate in activities for which the teacher has planned everything, prepared all the materials, collected all the information, and contacted all the resource people. But students will learn much about the process and will develop useful skills in collecting information, dealing with people, and planning ahead if they are also involved in the preparation themselves. Students can find additional information in the library or by calling some of the resource people listed in the book. They can learn how to keep going from one referral to the next until they find the person, book, or article that can provide the information they need. They can learn how to schedule a speaker, pinning down the time and date, then briefing him/her on the topic to be addressed and what the class/school is doing, then meeting, introducing, and thanking the speaker. Students can help plan the activity — what, where, when, how, who. Their participation will not only provide a wide variety of educational opportunities but will give it that extra enthusiasm that makes for success.

All of the units are designed to stand alone. For example, if a teacher wants to use only the mock legislature project, it can be pulled out and incorporated into a study of the legislative branch of government. In other words, these materials can be used as suggestions in any way that is helpful and that will be effective with a particular group of students.

Information

From the array of sources of information available to students—including parents, news media, friends, campaigns, or teachers—teachers are the most effective potential information source. Students need to know why it is important to vote, how to get registered to vote, how to follow voting procedures correctly, how to become effective participants in the political process. This book helps teachers meet these needs.

Involvement

Ideally, young people would get involved in the electoral process through the example set by their parents. Young people whose parents are themselves interested in news about political events and governmental actions, who volunteer on campaigns, or who are actively involved in civic groups like the League of Women Voters have high levels of voting. But in the real world we know that only a small percentage of adults participate or are interested in or informed about government. Therefore it is necessary to enlist other adults to help young people experience the excitement and rewards of personal involvement in the electoral process. As is so often the case, we must rely on the schools and youth groups to provide opportunities for young people to get involved.

Putting on a mock convention in high school, volunteering on a political campaign, helping conduct a voter registration drive in one's church, campaigning at Buckeye Boys' State or Girls' State, working on a campaign to pass a school or library or park tax levy, organizing a mock election — these are only a few examples of ways that young people can get hands-on practice in the electoral process. And the nice part is that they need not worry about duplication; the more opportunities young people have to experience the elections process, the more skills they acquire and the more involved they can become — the educational value is cumulative.

Interest

Interest is the natural product of information and involvement. Young people who have the information they need to register to vote, and who have been involved at home, at school, or in youth organizations in electoral processes, will be interested in registering and voting. It will be as natural a part of becoming an adult as getting a driver's license or a first job.

Politics like anything else has rules that you need to know to be effective. Just as baseball requires that you must touch first base before you can go to second, so Ohio requires that you must register before you can vote — both are rules of these respective "games". Playing the game under the guidance of a coach (teacher) is a good way to gain an understanding of it. The game is more interesting the more you know about it. Full participation in the game of politics will help us assure that our government does in fact derive its "just powers from the consent of the governed".

Causes and Effects of Low Voter Turnout

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Start with a pair of depressing statements: voter turnout in the United States is the lowest of any democracy in the world and is declining; turnout among young voters ages 18-24 is the lowest of any age group.

What are the causes and remedies of low voter turnout at elections? Should we be concerned about it? What are its effects? What should we do about it? We do not know precisely why turnout is so low and is declining, nor why it is so low among young people, but we do have some studies and theories.

The very uncertainty that is frustrating to those who are trying to identify and remedy the causes of nonvoting provides an unusual opportunity for high school students to discuss the problem on an equal footing with the experts. After all, high school seniors are themselves one of the prime targets for voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives. This unit presents them with some of the findings of surveys of young people and nonvoters, plus three articles presenting expert opinions on the causes of nonvoting. These materials and a video dramatization of a possible result of nonvoting give students an opportunity to react to and discuss these findings in relation to their own experience and opinions.

There are three separate but interrelated "turnout" problems: the low numbers of voters participating in elections; the continuing decline in voter turnout; and the especially low level of participation among the youngest age group, 18-24-year-olds.

Historically, the United States has not ever had high turnouts of all its citizens, but the reasons for this have changed dramatically. Until the late nineteenth century, large segments of the population were not legally eligible to vote. Even after religious and property qualifications had been abolished earlier in the century, only white men were generally allowed to vote. The influx of immigrants and the enfranchisement of black men in the last half of the 1800's led to a variety of enactments such as pre-registration requirements, poll taxes, and "literacy" tests, as well as physical and economic intimidation that effectively reduced voter turnout. Until 1920, one-half of the population was disenfranchized because women were not allowed to vote. It was only with passage of the federal Voting Rights Act in 1965 that the most outrageous impediments to voting were finally removed, leaving only a variety of state pre-registration requirements as legal barriers to voting. By the mid 1970's an accelerating movement was beginning at both the state and federal levels to make voter registration easier by varying combinations of registration by mail, volunteer registrars, registration through government agencies such as driver's license offices, and registration on the day of election.

Yet, voter turnout in the United States has remained at about 50-60 percent for the last 66 years, the lowest of any of the democracies in the world. (This raises the intriguing suggestion that perhaps low voter turnout is a sign of political stability; that maybe a high turnout signals a volatile political climate. If this were true, is a low turnout a good or a bad sign? We will not pursue this question.) There is some agreement as to why some people do not vote, but experts do not agree on which reasons are most important and what we can or should do about those reasons. It is generally accepted that nonvoters are likely to be poorer, less well educated, not married, younger than average, more likely to live in the rural South, to be nonwhite, and to have moved recently. But that profile does not explain the numbers of well-off, well-educated, not-so-young, white, urban, Northerners who also do not vote.

Perhaps even more unsettling is the continuing decline in the percent of eligible voters who have voted in elections since 1960. One school of thought produces impressive figures to show that 80-85 percent of registered voters actually do vote and that pre-registration is still a major barrier that many citizens find difficult to overcome. Strong support for this view is provided by states such as Minnesota, Maine, Wisconsin, and North Dakota that consistently have voter turnouts that are 10-15 percentage points higher than the national average and that require no pre-registration or provide for easy registration, including on the day of the election. Ohio's success in registering large numbers of its citizens through aggressive voter registration drives, which has also resulted in voter turnouts well above the national average, provides further support for this view that the way to increase turnout is to make voter registration easier and more accessible. This view contends that current registration restrictions create a disproportionately heavy burden on the poor, the less educated, and minorities, thereby skewing public policy because these groups are underrepresented.

Another school of thought acknowledges that easing pre-registration requirements would increase voter turnout, but that there are broader reasons why more and more

people do not vote. This view blames a good deal of the decline in voting on the lack of responsiveness of government and on the way political campaigns are now conducted. Watergate, Vietnam, and the Iran-Contra affair are just three of the shocks to the system that have repeatedly shaken public confidence in government. Ethics in government is a problem that continually resurfaces. Campaigns have become increasingly negative, nonsubstantive, and remote over the last 25 years. Television consumes 85% of campaign funds, leaving little money for involving people directly in grass-roots campaigning, making them spectators instead of participants, and contributing to campaigns that concentrate on avoiding controversy and that substitute negative ads for thoughtful discussion. At the same time, public affairs programming has been drastically reduced, few debates are covered in prime time, convention and election night coverage has been reduced, and most campaign coverage is in quick blips on the nightly news featuring feely-good pictures and snide comments from cynical reporters. It is no wonder that polls show an increase in negative attitudes toward politics that parallels the decrease in turnout at the polls.

This view holds that major restructuring of campaigns and politics will be necessary to give people good reasons to participate in the process. This unit provides the materials and procedures that a teacher needs to help students evaluate for themselves the validity of the various arguments about the causes and effects of low voter turnout.

A video entitled "First Tuesday" provides a dramatic introduction to the discussion of the effects of low turnout. A U.S. Census report on the 1988 election gives an idea of the dimensions of the problem; the 1985 "Youth and the Election System" survey gives some insight into the attitudes of high school seniors.

Three articles about voter participation provide expert opinions about the causes of low voter turnout. All of them have impressive facts, observations, and statistics to back up their arguments, but their conclusions are all opinions, not capable of absolute verification at this time.

"Voting for President" is a summary of some of the most common ideas about voter registration and turnout. The author points out problems with each of the theories, but provides useful statistics and definitions.

"An Absence of Ballots" summarizes voter turnout for the 1988 Presidential election, then summarizes three very different views on how to address the problems.

"Nonvoting" deals with political and procedural concerns and recommendations that are not addressed in the first article directly and mentioned only briefly in the second. It is intended to spark discussion, although many of the statements cannot be proved.

With these materials and suggestions in hand, it is hoped that a teacher will be able to get students interested in becoming active participants in the political process.

OBJECTIVES

1. Students will be able to describe recent trends in voter turnout and some implications of the trend.
2. Students will be able to explain why some citizens may not vote.
3. Students will be able to explain the relationship between the effects of government (local, state, and national) on their lives (providing specific examples) and the importance of voting.
4. The political efficacy of students in Ohio, as evidenced by increased voting by individuals aged 18-24, will increase.

PREPARATION

1. Borrow the 20-minute video tape entitled "First Tuesday" from your county board of elections (see County Resources sheet). If a copy is not available from your board, get in touch with the Secretary of State's field representative. Preview the film and review questions 1 and 2 under Activities.

2. Review questions 3 and 4 under Activities. Decide which student or students you want to assign to read and summarize each of the five selections in the Resource Materials. Make enough photocopies of these selections to distribute to the assigned students.

3. Review question 5 under Activities. Decide whether to have a student record responses or whether the teacher will do so. Will the responses be recorded on a chalkboard, an overhead projector, or on paper and read back to the class? Prepare materials for the method selected.

4. Review questions 6 and 7 under Activities. Decide how you want to record responses; prepare materials. Be prepared to refer students to a library, government officials or political activists for information about which government entities affect different activities.

ACTIVITIES

1. Introduce "First Tuesday" video: Explain that this was made in San Diego, and students should watch it as though they were living in the 21st century, watching a CBS news special filmed in California and shown nationwide, perhaps as part of a program like "60 Minutes" or "57th Street."

2. What is the point this film is trying to make? (We could lose the right to vote by not voting.) Discuss with the class the probabilities of our ceasing to have elections in the United States because of declining voter turnout.

3. How bad is the problem of nonvoting? Why don't people vote? Assign an individual student or group of students to read each of the five selections in the Resource Materials. They should be prepared to summarize the main conclusions of each selection and draw on those conclusions in a class discussion of the reasons for nonvoting.

4. Have the five summaries presented to the class.

5. What do these students believe are the reasons people do not vote? Have the class try to reach consensus about the relative importance of possible explanations for why people do not vote.

—List all the reasons the class offers, whether learned from the resource selections or originating from the students themselves.

—Ask if any reasons express the same idea as another in slightly different words; if so, combine them.

—Ask the class to catagorize each reason as: important, fairly important, or not very important.

	Important	Fairly Important	Not very Important
Reason #1			
Reason #2			
Reason #3			
etc.			

Are there any discernible patterns or general groupings of reasons that seem especially important in explaining why specific groups or people in general do vote or do not vote?

6. What do these students believe would get people to vote?
Ask the class to suggest solutions to the problems these groupings or reasons describe. Ask follow-up questions to help them examine the implications of their suggestions: How much would it cost? Who would do it? Is it politically feasible? Is it constitutional? Who would support it? Who would oppose it?

7. What are the urgent concerns of these students? Do elected officials affect these concerns? Ask the students to name some of their concerns and try to identify which level of government and which elected officials have any effect on that concern. Example:

Topic	Concern	Federal	State	Local
I want a	Cost:			
car	import quota	Pres/Congress		
	interest rates	Pres/Appointees		
	insurance		Gov/Appointees	
	license plates		Gov/Gen. Assembly	Sheriff
	sales tax		Gov/Gen. Assembly	County Comm.
	Drivers License		Gov/Gen. Assembly	Sheriff
	Speed Laws	Pres/Congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly	Sheriff
I want a job	Minimum Wage	Pres/Congress		
		Work rules	Pres/Congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly
	Taxes	Pres/Congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly	Mayor/Council
I want to go to college	Tuition (state university)		Gov/Gen. Assembly	
	Student aid	Pres/Congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly	
	HS requirements		State School Bd.	Local Sch. Bd.
Drinking	Age	Pres/Congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly	
	Alcohol taxes	Pres/Congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly	
	Availability	Pres/congress	Gov/Gen. Assembly	Local Voters
etc.				

MEASUREMENT

A short quiz is provided at the end of the Resource Materials to help determine if students have grasped the main points about who votes, who does not vote, and why. This affords an immediate opportunity, while having the students check over their own quizzes, to reinforce these important points.

The answers to the questions are: 1-c; 2-c; 3-college graduates, over 65 years old; high income; married; homeowners; 4-a, c, f; 5-a wide variety of answers, including taxes, driving laws, minimum wage, tuition, student aid, curfew, drinking age, environmental laws, health laws, and many more; 6-a wide variety of answers such as registration laws, negative campaigns, weak political parties, governmental nonresponsiveness, emphasis on TV in campaigns, lack of voter education, and many others.

FOLLOW-UP

Any student who finds this subject particularly interesting could prepare a report or a speech to give to civic groups about the importance of voting, the problem of nonvoting, and the possible solutions to the problem.

RESOURCE MATERIALS

The following pages contain five selections dealing with voter turnout, plus a short quiz. All of them may be reproduced for classroom use. Altogether they provide both facts and opinions on which to base student discussion of why people do or do not participate in the electoral process. It should be made clear that there are no "right" answers in such a discussion. These selections can be used as background information by the teacher; or they can be duplicated and assigned as reading to students.

A number of excellent studies of voting and nonvoting have been published that propound and defend a variety of intriguing theories. Many are widely available at public libraries or through inter-library loan.

Richard Cloward and Francis Fox Piven, *Why Americans Don't Vote* (Pantheon Books, New York, 1988).

Arthur T. Hadley, *The Empty Polling Booth* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1978).

Charles E. Johnson, Jr., *Nonvoting Americans* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 102), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402, April 1980. 27 pages. Includes an extensive bibliography.

Ruy Teixeira, *Why Americans Don't Vote* (Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1987).

Raymond E. Wolfinger & Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1980). Includes an extensive list of references. Concludes that education is the most important single factor determining voting participation, that age is the second most important.

YOUTH AND THE ELECTION SYSTEM: FINAL REPORT, MARCH 1987

by League of Women Voters of Cleveland Educational Fund
Ohio Secretary of State Sherrod Brown
Ohio Department of Education, Dr. Franklin Walter, Superintendent of Public Instruction

What is the profile of the 18-year-old potential voter? This project conducted a statistically valid attitudinal survey of 2075 high school seniors in 60 high schools in four counties in Ohio to find the answer.

The 18-year-old potential voter
—is not apathetic, cynical, or disenchanted
—lacks driving interest in the election system (we can't expect students to be self-motivated)
—says two political parties are enough
—is choosing "independent" because parties are not well differentiated
—says candidates are well qualified
—is "into" a mass communication society; there is less parental and peer influence
—wants more voter information

From the results of the attitudinal survey, it was found that students wanted answers to the following questions:

How do I register to vote?
When can I register to vote or change my address?
I won't be 18 until _____. When can I register and vote?
What are the requirements I have to meet to be able to register?
Will I ever have to re-register?
Do I have to choose a political party when I register to vote?
If I request a party ballot in the primary election, can I vote for candidates of a different party in the general election?
If I register for the draft, can I register to vote at the same time?
Do I have to vote on all the officials and issues on the ballot?
Will I be called for jury duty if I register to vote?
Can I vote if I won't be home on election day?
What if I join the military and get shipped overseas?
How do I actually vote? (I have never done it, and I don't want to look stupid.)
Where do I get more information on voting and candidates?
Who do we elect this year?
I can't remember all the dates and offices and deadlines.

Following are the results of the survey.

SURVEY OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS FOR THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

April/May 1985

1. What is the name of the high school you attend?_____

2. Between the ages of 16 and 22 many important changes take place in the lives of young adults. Below is a list of some of the things that could change your life. Please rank the importance of each of these events to you by writing a "1" next to the most important event, a "2" next to the second most important event, a "3" next to the third most important event and so on, until you have ranked the importance of each event. If some of these events do not apply to you, such as getting married or joining the service put a "0" in the blank.

Events	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important
Being able to drive	61	33	6
Being able to drink	10	33	57
Getting a job	74	23	3
Paying taxes	3	29	68
Going to college/technical school	70	20	10
Being able to live on your own	44	48	8
Getting married	13	41	46
Being able to vote	16	61	23
Joining the armed services	6	8	86

3. How interested were you in the 1984 presidential election?

29 Very Interested — 14 Not Very Interested
53 Somewhat Interested — 4 Not Interested At All

4. Did you watch either of the presidential debates or the vice presidential debate on TV?

71 Yes — 29 No

5. Did you watch any of either the Democratic convention or the Republican convention on TV?

7 Yes, Democratic — 46 Yes, Some of Both
10 Yes, Republican — 37 No, Did Not Watch

6. Here are some political activities that some people did during the past election. Indicate if you did any of these.

	Yes	No
Worked on a political campaign (telephoning, canvassing, literature drops)?	6	94
Attended a political rally or debate?	9	91
Talked to others about why they should vote for one of the candidates?	58	42
Had a yard sign in front of your home?	12	88
Worked with others or joined an organization trying to do something about a national, state or local problem?	6	94
Spoke to or wrote to your congressman or some other elected official?	11	89
Signed a petition either for or against an action by the national, state, or local government?	14	86

7. Would you say that you cared which party won the presidential election?

65 Cared A Good Deal — 35 Didn't Care Very Much

8. In your opinion, what was the difference between Reagan and Mondale?

80 Big Difference
18 Only a Little Difference — 2 No Difference At All

9. What do you feel is the difference between Republicans and Democrats?

58 Big Difference
38 Only a Little Difference — 4 No Difference At All

10. In our political system are two parties enough, or should there be more?

73 Two Parties are Enough — 27 Should be More

11. Which level of government are you most informed about?

57 Federal — 16 State — 21 Local — 5 None — 1 Combinations

12. In your opinion, which is more important, to vote on a candidate running for public office or to vote on an issue such as a tax levy?
16 Vote on a Candidate — 61 Both are Equally Important
20 Vote on an Issue — 3 Neither

13. Which do you usually pay attention to, candidates or the issues?
24 Candidates — 36 Both the Same Amount
35 Issues — 5 Neither

14. During an election, is there usually more information available about the candidates or about the issues?
50 More About Candidates — 27 About the Same for Both
23 More About Issues

15. How important would you say each of the following items would be in your decision on how to vote for a candidate running for public office?

The Candidate's	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important
Personality	57	38	5
Sex	17	26	57
Age	21	52	27
Appearance	42	42	16
Ethnic background	18	37	45
Religious background	17	36	47
Groups represented (labor, business, the rich, the poor, Vietnam veterans, etc.)	63	30	7
Political party	48	37	15
Elected offices previously held	49	42	9
Image communicated by the media	51	40	9
Education	76	20	4
Stand taken on the issues	87	11	2
What parents or relatives say about the candidate	12	45	43
What friends say about the candidate	7	44	49
TV and newspaper endorsements	18	51	31

16. Overall opinion of candidates running for public office.
71 Favorable Opinion — 29 Unfavorable Opinion

17. Of all the candidates running for office how many do you think are well qualified?
12 Almost All — 26 Less Than Half
59 More Than Half — 3 Almost None

18. Do you think most candidates have to be wealthy to run for office?
59 Yes — 41 No

19. How good a job do political campaigns do of informing the voters?
38 Good Job — 55 Only A Fair Job — 7 Poor Job

20. Do you think most political campaigns are run fairly and honestly?
43 Yes — 57 No

21. Do you think the length of campaigns is too long?
43 Too Long — 54 About Right — 3 Not Long Enough

22. Do you think campaigns have too much influence?
32 Too Much — 15 Too Little — 3 About the Right Amount

23. Would you say the influence most campaigns have on the way people vote is positive or negative?
26 Positive — 13 Negative — 61 Some of Both

24. Do you think the media (newspapers, radio, TV) have too much influence?
65 Too Much — 7 Too Little — 28 About the Right Amount

25. How do the media influence the way people vote?
14 Positive Influence — 25 Negative Influence — 61 Some of Both

26. Do you think the media report news about candidates and public officials fairly?
35 Yes — 65 No

27. How often do you follow what is going on in government?
22 Every Day — 46 Once a Week — 16 Once A Month
11 Less Than Once A Month — 5 Never

28. How much information about candidates and issues do you get from each of the following?

	A Lot	Some	Only A Little	None
Parents	26	42	21	11
Newspaper Stories	32	44	19	5
Radio News & Talk Shows	32	37	23	8
Friends	6	24	43	27
Speakers	14	32	33	21
TV News & Talk Shows	44	32	17	7
Groups or Clubs	4	14	31	51
Magazine Stories	17	33	32	18
Political Campaign Ads & Literature	28	32	25	18
Teachers	30	41	21	8
Other _____				

29. Do you feel you get enough information about candidates and issues?
39 Get Enough 8 Too Much 53 Would Like More

30. How much time do you and your parents spend talking about candidates, issues, and politics?
7 A Lot 32 Some 39 Only A Little 22 None

31. How much time do you and your friends spend talking about the candidates, issues, and politics?
4 A Lot 20 Some 41 Only A Little 35 None

32. How much time in school do your teachers spend talking about the candidates, issues, and politics?
21 A Lot 47 Some 27 Only A Little 5 None

33. Are you active in any school clubs or groups that relate to government?
21 Yes 79 No

34. Are you active in any clubs or groups outside of school that relate to government?
10 Yes 90 No

35. Does your school offer any opportunities for students to get involved in political campaigns for candidates or ballot issues?
41 Yes 19 No 40 Don't Know

36. Statements about politics and voting.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
So many people vote in the election that it doesn't matter if I vote.	4	11	44	41
Politics and government are so complicated that people like me can't understand what's going on.	5	25	45	25
Voting is an important way that people like me can have a say about the way government runs things.	40	47	10	3
Public officials don't care what people like me think.	6	23	56	15
A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.	2	14	56	28
It isn't important to vote when you know your candidate won't win.	3	8	44	45
Political parties are interested in people's votes, not their opinions.	16	41	36	7
If people don't care about the outcome of an election they shouldn't vote.	18	39	31	12
It is important to vote to preserve our democracy.	50	39	8	3

Now we would like to talk about voter registration.

37. How informed would you say you are about how to register to vote?
20 Very 41 Somewhat 27 Not Very 12 Not At All

38. Can you register to vote at each of the following places?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Board of Elections	57	4	39
School	73	9	18
Post Office	61	7	32
Library	42	16	42
Bureau of Motor Vehicles	14	34	52
State Liquor Store	3	55	42
Register by Mail	49	10	41

39. Do you know why or has anyone ever told you why you must be registered before you can vote?
67 Yes 33 No

40. If you move or go to college or join the service and want to vote in your new location, do you know how to change your registration or would you have to find out?
26 Already Know 74 Would Have to Find Out

41. If you move temporarily or go to college or join the service and want to vote in your hometown but are away from home on election day, do you know how to vote absentee or would you have to find out?
35 Already Know 65 Would Have to Find Out

42. Some people do not register to vote because they think they will be called for jury duty. What about you, do you think you will be called for jury duty if you register to vote?
39 Yes 58 No 3 Don't Know

43. (If Yes in Question 42) Is this a strong reason for you not to vote?
4 Yes 35 No

44. Some men do not register because they see registering to vote as a link to the draft. Do you think the list of people registered to vote is given to the draft board?
30 Yes 69 No 1 Don't Know

45. (If you are male and said yes in Question 44) Is this a strong reason for you not to register to vote?
4 Yes 10 No

46. Are you registered to vote?
34 Yes 66 No

(If registered to vote answer Questions 47 through 50, then skip to Question 54 and continue. If not registered to vote, skip to Question 51 and continue).

47.(If Registered) Where did you register to vote?
75 At School 7 At Board of Elections
2 At Bureau of Motor Vehicles 8 At The Library
8 Other_____

48.(If Registered) How did you find out about registering?
27 From Parents 7 From Friends or Relatives 2 TV
70 From Teachers or Administrators 1 From Groups or Clubs
2 Radio 2 Newspaper Other_____

49. (If Registered) Do you plan to vote in the next election?
93 Yes 5 No 2 Don't Know

(If registered to vote and answered yes in Question 49—answer Question 50 and then skip to Question 54 and continue. If registered to vote and answered no in Question 49, skip to Question 54 and continue).

50. (If Registered) Do you plan to vote in both primary and general elections or primary only or general only?
65 Both Primary and General 4 Primary Only
7 General Only 24 Don't Know
(Skip to Question 54)

51. (If not Registered) Why haven't you registered to vote?
(Circle All That Apply)
58 Not Old Enough 10 Not Interested
25 Haven't Had The Time 5 Doesn't Matter
17 Don't Know How to Register 2 Didn't Know I Had to Register
15 Don't Know Where to Register 1 Don't Want My Name On The Voter List
6 Other_____

52. (If not old enough) Do you plan to register to vote when you turn 18?
79 Yes 3 No 18 Don't Know

53. (If yes in question 52) Do you plan to vote in both primary and general?
39 Both Primary and General 1 Primary Only 2 General Only
— Don't Plan to Vote 58 Don't Know

54. Below is a list of reasons why some 18-to-22-year-olds do not vote. Many people age 18-22 do not register and vote:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
because they don't know how to work the voting machines or the punch cards	3	19	50	28
because they do not have enough information to make an informed decision	12	57	26	5
because they are satisfied with the way things are and do not feel a need to change things	4	36	47	13
because they have to declare themselves either as a Republican or a Democrat to vote for a candidate in the primary election	4	30	54	12
because many of the issues on the ballot have no meaning to them	12	54	29	5
because they are not interested	26	52	16	6
because they think voting is not as important to younger people as it is to older people	14	43	34	9
because they think they have to vote on every issue or candidate on the ballot	5	39	49	7
because they have never been involved in politics, either at home or at school	14	53	28	5
because the political campaigns are too negative and that turns them off	8	40	46	6
because they are unsure of themselves when they go to vote	13	53	28	6

55. If you could change one or two things about the political system that would make 18-to-22-year-olds more likely to vote what would they be?

56. Many people have suggested ways to get 18-to-22-year-olds to register and vote. Below is a list of some of these ways.

More 18-to-22-year-olds would register and vote if:

	A Lot of Impact	Some Impact	Only A Little Impact	No Impact At All
they were involved directly, such as meeting the candidates or working on campaigns	40	46	12	2
they knew they had to register 30 days before the election	7	35	44	14
they could get more facts and less campaign rhetoric	45	41	12	2
information about the candidates and issues were easier to get	35	41	19	5
they received a reminder card telling them that they are old enough to register	22	42	26	10
the candidates represented the people more and special interest groups less	28	43	24	5
they got a letter from a candidate or an issue campaign asking them to register and vote	21	41	30	8
the state sent every 18 year old an information booklet on how and where to register to vote	46	38	13	3
the state sent every registered voter a voter information booklet summarizing the positions of the candidates and issues	46	37	13	4
information on how to work the voting machines was available	19	34	33	14

57. Are your friends over 18 years of age registered to vote?

20 Almost All 27 More Than Half 24 Less Than Half
14 Almost None 15 Don't Know

58. Do you remember when you were growing up how interested your parents were in political matters?

25 Very 47 Somewhat 17 Not Very
11 Don't Know

59. Are your parents registered to vote?

Mother	Father	
82	81	Yes
11	8	No
7	11	Don't Know

60. (If parents are registered) Are they Democrats, Republicans or Independents?

Mother	Father	
28	25	Democratic
28	30	Republican
7	6	Independent
1	1	Other ____
36	38	Don't Know

61. (If parents are registered) How do your parents usually vote?

Mother	Father	
60	57	Both Primary & General
5	5	Primary Only
11	10	General Only
4	5	Don't Vote
20	23	Don't Know

62. Did your parents graduate from college?

Mother	Father	
31	38	Yes
63	55	No
6	7	Don't Know

63. What is the occupation of the major income provider in your household?

51 Professional or Managerial
11 Clerical or Sales
29 Skilled or Unskilled Worker
4 Not in Labor Force
5 Don't Know

64. When you graduate from high school will you go to college?

63 Definitely Will Go
8 Probably Will Not Go
20 Probably Will Go
6 Definitely Will Not Go
3 Don't Know

65. Are you involved in extra curricular activities at school, such as sports, music, groups or clubs?

72 Yes 28 No

66. What is your age? 40 17 & Under 60 18 & Over

67. Are you a male or a female? 48 Male 52 Female

68. Regardless of whether or not you are registered to vote, what party would you consider yourself to be?

9 Strong Democrat 14 Independent Democrat 13 Independent
20 Independent Republican 14 Strong Republican 12 None
18 Don't Know

69. And finally, what is your race?

14 Black 77 White 4 Other (Oriental, Hispanic, American Indian, etc.) 5 Refused

Thank you for you cooperation. Your responses will help us understand the attitudes of high school seniors towards the election system.

CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS
Population Characteristics

Reprinted from:
Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1988 (Advance Report)

U.S. Department of Commerce — Series P-20, No. 435
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS — Issued February 1989

According to results from the November 1988 Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the Bureau of the Census, 57 (± 4) percent of the voting-age population reported that they voted in the 1988 general election.[1] This represents a decline of 3 percentage points from the rate in the 1984 election, and the first drop in voter turnout in a Presidential election since 1976. The 1988 turnout rate was the lowest recorded in the CPS since the survey on voting and registration first began in 1964 (table A).

As in the 1984 Presidential election, turnout among women exceeded that among men by about 2 percentage points, 58 (± 0.5) for women versus 56 (± 0.5) for men.

Turnout declined for all age groups except the elderly; the rate for persons 65 years and over showed no significant change from the 1984 rate. Turnout for persons 25 to 44 years and 45 to 64 years dropped 4 points and 2 points, respectively, between 1984 and 1988, to 54 percent for the 25 to 44-year-olds. For the youngest group, those 18 to 24 years old, turnout dropped from 41 percent in 1984 to 36 percent in 1988.

Black turnout dropped also, falling from 56 percent in 1984 to 52 percent in 1988. This decline in Black turnout was twice as great as that for Whites, whose turnout decreased by 2 points to 59 percent. Hispanic turnout fell from 33 percent in 1984 to 29 percent in 1988; Hispanic turnout is deflated because about one-third (37 percent) of Hispanics of voting age are not U.S. citizens.

The typical voter profile remained similar between 1984 and 1988. People in the Midwest reported the highest regional voter turnout rate (63 percent in 1988), and persons with 4 or more years of college reported the highest turnout among education groups (78 percent). In addition, family householders who own their own homes voted at a much higher rate (70 percent) than did persons who rent (40 percent). And, while in both 1984 and 1988, employed persons reported considerably higher turnout rates than those who were unemployed, turnout for each group dropped in 1988, to 58 percent for employed persons and 39 percent for the unemployed.

Registration

Declines in reported registration corresponded to those in voter turnout. For the 1988 Presidential election, 67 percent of the voting-age population reported that they were registered, compared with 68 percent in 1984. As with turnout, registration in 1984 declined among all age groups except those 65 years and over, whose registration increased slightly from 77 to 78 percent. Among Blacks, registration fell to 65 percent, and among Hispanics it fell to 36 percent.

Sixty-eight percent of women were registered to vote, compared with 65 percent of men.

Reliability of Estimated Statistics

These data are based on answers to a series of questions asked of a sample of persons of voting age in the Current Population Survey (CPS) 2 weeks after the election of November 8, 1988. The questions were designed to provide informaton on voting behavior of the various segments of the population of voting age. This report presents advance statistics on voting and registration; more detailed tabulations and analysis will be presented in a forthcoming report.

Official counts of the number of votes cast for President in the 1988 election are not yet available; however, press reports on the number of votes cast for President indicate that about 91.3 million persons, or approximately 50 percent of persons of voting age, voted in the 1988 election. Estimates from the 1988 November CPS reported 57 percent voting in the 1988 election. Discrepancies of this magnitude are common to household surveys of voting and registration and arise largely because of respondent misreporting of voting.

Despite the difference found in surveys and actual votes cast, the data presented in this report can be regarded as providing useful measures of differences in voting behavior among subgroups of the population. Factors which may account for the differences between the Current Population Survey and official counts were published in the report, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1984," Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 405.

[1] *This compares with 50 percent actually voting, according to early reports of tabulated votes cast for president. See the section on Reliability of Estimated Statistics.*

Table A. **Percent Reported Voting, by Region, Race, Hispanic Origin, Sex, and Age: November 1964 to 1988**

(Numbers in thousands) — Civilian Non—Institutional Population

Region, race, Hispanic origin, sex, and age	Presidential elections							Congressional elections			
	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964	1986	1982	1978	1974
UNITED STATES											
Total, voting age	178,098	169,963	157,085	146,548	136,203	116,535	110,604	173,890	165,483	151,646	141,299
Percent voted	57.4	59.9	59.2	59.2	63.0	67.8	69.3	46.0	48.5	45.9	44.7
White	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7	47.0	49.9	47.3	46.3
Black	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	[2]58.5	43.2	43.0	37.2	33.8
Hispanic[1]	28.8	32.6	29.9	31.8	37.5	(NA)	(NA)	24.2	25.3	23.5	22.9
Male	56.4	59.0	59.1	59.6	64.1	69.8	71.9	45.8	48.7	46.6	46.2
Female	58.3	60.8	59.4	58.8	62.0	66.0	67.0	46.1	48.4	45.3	43.4
18 to 24 years	36.2	40.8	39.9	42.2	49.6	[3]50.4	[3]50.9	21.9	24.8	23.5	23.8
25 to 44 years	54.0	58.4	58.7	58.7	62.7	66.6	69.0	41.4	45.4	43.1	42.2
45 to 64 years	67.9	69.8	69.3	68.7	70.8	74.9	75.9	58.7	62.2	58.5	56.9
65 years and over	68.8	67.7	65.1	62.2	63.5	65.8	66.3	60.9	59.9	55.9	51.4
NORTH AND WEST											
Total, voting age	117,373	112,376	106,524	99,403	93,653	81,594	78,174	114,689	110,126	102,894	96,505
Percent voted	58.9	61.6	61.0	61.2	66.4	71.0	74.6	47.5	51.9	48.9	48.8
White	60.4	63.0	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7	48.7	53.1	50.0	50.0
Black	55.6	58.9	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	[2]72.0	44.2	48.5	41.3	37.9
SOUTH											
Total, voting age	60,725	57,587	50,561	47,145	42,550	34,941	32,429	59,201	55,357	48,752	44,794
Percent voted	54.5	56.8	55.6	54.9	55.4	60.1	56.7	43.0	41.8	39.6	36.0
White	56.4	58.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.5	43.5	42.9	41.1	37.4
Black	48.0	53.2	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	[2]44.0	42.5	38.3	33.5	30.0

NA Not available.
[1]Hispanics may be of any race.
[2]Black and other races in 1964.
[3]Prior to 1972, includes persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii.
Source: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 143, 192, 253, 293, 322, 344, 370, 383, 405, 414, and table 1 of this report.

Since the data in the report are based on a sample of the population, they are also subject to sampling variability, i.e., to variation that occurred by chance because a sample rather than the entire population was surveyed. Sampling variability is measured by the standard error. All statements of comparison in this report have passed a hypothesis test at the 10-percent level of significance or better. This means that for the differences cited in the text, the estimated difference between population parameters is greater than 1.6 the standard error of the difference. However, the reader should be cautious in interpreting small differences in the percentage reported voting and registering in different election years. Estimates of the size of the standard errors will be included in the forthcoming detailed report.

Table B. **Characteristics of the Voting-Age Population Reported Registered or Voting: November 1988 and 1984**

(Numbers in thousands) — Civilian Non—Institutional Population

Characteristic	1988			1984		
	Number	Percent registered	Percent voted	Number	Percent registered	Percent voted
Total, 18 years and over	178,098	66.6	57.4	169,963	68.3	59.9
Region:						
Northeast	37,874	64.8	57.4	36,868	66.6	59.7
Midwest[1]	43,309	72.5	62.9	42,136	74.6	65.7
South	60,725	65.6	54.5	57,587	66.9	56.8
West	36,190	63.0	55.6	33,372	64.7	58.5
Years of school completed:						
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	19,145	47.5	36.7	20,580	53.4	42.9
High school: 1 to 3 years	21,052	52.8	41.3	22,068	54.9	44.4
4 years	70,003	64.6	54.7	67,807	67.3	58.7
College: 1 to 3 years	34,264	73.5	64.5	30,915	75.7	67.5
4 years or more	33,604	83.1	77.6	28,593	83.6	79.1
Labor force status:						
In civilian labor force	119,645	66.3	57.5	111,562	68.4	60.5
Employed	113,836	67.1	58.4	104,173	69.4	61.6
Unemployed	5,809	50.4	38.6	7,389	54.3	44.0
Not in labor force	58,453	67.2	57.3	58,401	68.1	58.9
Tenure:[2]						
Owner occupied	47,540	78.1	70.0	45,433	79.1	71.8
Renter occupied	17,352	49.7	39.8	16,674	53.4	43.7

[1] Formerly the North Central Region.
[2] Restricted to family householders.
Source of 1984 data: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 405.

Table C. **Percent Reported Registered, by Region, Race, Hispanic Origin, Sex, and Age: November 1964 to 1988**

(Numbers in thousands) — Civilian Non—Institutional Population

Region, race, Hispanic origin, sex, and age	Presidential elections							Congressional elections			
	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964	1986	1982	1978	1974
UNITED STATES											
Total, voting age	178,098	169,963	157,085	146,548	136,203	116,535	110,604	173,890	165,483	151,646	141,299
Percent registered	66.6	68.3	66.9	66.7	72.3	74.3	69.3	64.3	64.1	62.6	62.2
White	67.9	69.6	68.4	68.3	73.4	75.4	70.7	65.3	65.6	63.8	63.5
Black	64.5	66.3	60.0	58.5	65.5	66.2	[3]58.5	64.0	59.1	57.1	54.9
Hispanic[1]	35.5	40.1	36.3	37.8	44.4	(NA)	(NA)	35.9	35.3	32.9	34.9
Male	65.2	67.3	66.6	67.1	73.1	76.0	71.9	63.4	63.7	62.6	62.8
Female	67.8	69.3	67.1	66.4	71.6	72.8	67.0	65.0	64.4	62.5	61.7
18 to 24 years	48.2	51.3	49.2	51.3	58.9	[4]56.0	[4]50.9	42.0	42.4	40.5	41.3
25 to 44 years	63.0	66.6	65.6	65.5	71.3	72.4	69.0	61.1	61.5	60.2	59.9
45 to 64 years	75.5	76.6	75.8	75.5	79.7	81.1	75.9	74.8	75.6	74.3	73.6
65 years and over	78.4	76.9	74.6	71.4	75.6	75.6	66.3	76.9	75.2	72.8	70.2
NORTH AND WEST											
Total, voting age	117,373	112,376	106,524	99,403	93,653	81,594	78,174	114,689	110,126	102,894	96, 505
Percent registered	67.1	69.0	67.9	67.7	73.9	76.5	74.6	64.9	65.2	63.8	63.3
White	68.5	70.5	69.3	69.0	74.9	77.2	74.7	66.2	66.7	64.9	64.6
Black	65.9	67.2	60.6	60.9	67.0	71.8	[3]72.0	63.1	61.7	58.0	54.2
SOUTH											
Total, voting age	60,725	57,587	50,561	47,145	42,550	34,941	32,429	59,201	55,357	48,752	44,794
Percent registered	65.6	66.9	64.8	64.6	68.7	69.2	56.7	63.0	61.7	60.1	59.8
White	66.6	67.8	66.2	66.7	69.8	70.8	59.5	63.2	63.2	61.2	61.0
Black	63.3	65.6	59.3	56.4	64.0	61.6	[3]44.0	64.6	56.9	56.2	55.5

NA Not available.
[1] Hispanics may be of any race.
[3] Black and other races in 1964.
[4] Prior to 1972, includes persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii.
Source: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 192, 253, 293, 322, 344, 370, 383, 405, 414, and table 1 of this report.

Essay

by William C. Kimberling, Deputy Director
FEC National Clearinghouse on
Election Administration

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION

Voting for President:
Participation in America

"...you and I both know that so many numbers can be used to prove so many different things."

-- Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Voter participation in America has suffered a fairly steady decline over the past three decades. Turnout in presidential elections has, for example, declined from a high of 62.77% of the voting age population in 1960 to a low of 52.56% in 1980. At the same time, voting in Congressional elections (never anything to shout about) has declined from a high of 48.17% in 1966 to a low of 36.41% in 1986.

This apparent waning of citizen involvement in the election process is a little troubling for at least two reasons. First, the smaller the electorate, the more vulnerable a democratic government is to the influence of large special interest groups or factions. Such an imbalance of representation, as Madison long ago warned, endangers the Republic. Second, a continued downward trend in voter participation may invite demagoguery and lend credence to those who would prefer to resolve public disputes in the streets rather than in the polling places.

There have, to be sure, been a number of proposals aimed at halting or reversing the decline in voter participation. But since it is difficult to cure something without first knowing its cause, most of these proposals await evidence that their results will in any way justify their costs. Finding an explanation and thus, perhaps, a cure for low voter participation has therefore become something of a growth industry. And there are nearly as many different theories as there are observers.

MYTHS, FALLACIES, AND PITFALLS

Before considering some of these different theories, there are a few myths, fallacies, and pitfalls to which those interested in voter participation should be alert. Some of these are seemingly minor errors which, through repetition, have become part of the unexamined conventional wisdom. Others are so vast that they have swallowed whole groups of well intentioned activists.

The views expressed here are solely those of the author and should not be represented as being the views of the Federal Election Commission or any division thereof.

■ **It is extremely difficult to separate out the effects of various registration programs or procedures from the other factors involved in an election.** No two elections are alike. Between nations, there are profound differences in constitutions, governmental institutions, and political traditions. Between States, there are differences in laws, procedures, political cultures, and the offices up for election. Between jurisdictions within the same State, there are still differences in demographics, party organizations, and local candidates and issues. Even in two consecutive elections within the same jurisdiction, different sets of federal, State, and local candidates campaign on different sets of issues to a slightly changed electorate. In short, there are so many variables involved that no simplistic comparisons of one jurisdiction to another or of one election to another can satisfactorily demonstrate the effects of different registration programs or procedures.

■ **Comparisons between the United States and Europe are, at best, tenuous.** Although it is a common practice to bemoan American voter participation in contrast to that of European democracies, such comparisons frequently overlook three fundamental, systemic differences as well as differences in methods of computation.

The most important difference between European democracies and the United States is that European nations tend toward parliamentary / prime ministerial rather than congressional / presidential systems of government. The basic question in a typical European election is which party is going to win the majority of parliament and thus control both the legislative *and* the executive branches. Given this notion of "party government", it is understandable that European political parties are far more important, far better organized, and enjoy a far more dedicated following than American parties. Moreover, because the consequences of such European elections are both immediate and profound (whereas the American system was specifically designed to prevent sudden change), it seems reasonable

to imagine that they therefore attract greater public interest and participation. This argument gains added force from the fact that European governments tend to be both more centralized and more involved in the day-to-day lives of their citizens than is true of the United States. For whereas matters of housing, education, health, welfare, law enforcement, and taxation are dispersed throughout several separately elected institutions and levels of American government, in Europe they are most often the sole responsibility of a parliament whose composition is determined by each citizen casting but one vote (for Member of Parliament) in the national election. When so much is so clearly at stake in a single election, one might reasonably expect greater participation than in the less decisive, multiple elections born of our decentralized federal structure. A third noteworthy difference between European and American elections is that a few European countries make voting *mandatory* and exact a fine for failing to vote. Such a procedure, so antithetical to American ideals of freedom and political party competition, further distorts cross-national comparisons.

Finally, there is an important difference between Europe and the United States in the way we calculate voter participation. With the exception of Britain, European countries have national identity papers and civil registries which afford them a very clear idea of how many eligible voters they have. In the United States, by contrast, the most reliable base figure we have is the Voting Age Population as determined by the Bureau of Census. Because this figure includes a significant but undetermined number of persons who are ineligible to vote (aliens, felons, etc.), American participation percentages are artificially lower in comparison. By the same token, Europeans can readily ascertain their voter turnout simply by adding up the number of single office ballots cast in their national elections. In the United States, by contrast, the most reliable turnout figure we have is the number of votes cast for the highest office on our multiple office ballots. Because not all voters cast a vote for the highest office, our turnout figures are again artificially lower than comparable European numbers. (For an indication of the magnitude of these discrepancies, see the discussion of THE NUMBERS below.)

For these reasons, then, comparisons of voter participation in the United States and Europe are problematical and, at best, tenuous.

■ **The United States is *not* the only Western industrial democracy which takes no positive public role in registering voters.** There is an erroneous assertion, repeated in some of the most authoritative sources on the subject, that the United States is the only Western industrial democracy which does not take a positive public role in registering voters. By this it is meant that we neither conduct an official door-to-door pre-election census of voters (in the manner of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries) nor do we maintain an official Civil Registry from which, among other things, the list of eligible voters is drawn (as is the custom of the Federal Republic of Germany and most Nordic countries). In point of fact, however, the Republic of France administers an essentially voluntary, permanent voter registration system virtually identical to our own. They nevertheless enjoy, by all accounts, a substantially higher rate of voter participation. Although France may seem like a minor exception, it is an extremely important one in view of conclusions that might otherwise be drawn from correlating active government voter registration programs with voter participation.

■ **Registration requirements may not necessarily depress voter participation.** A number of authors, in tracing the history of voter registration laws, have noted that their implementation in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries was followed by a marked reduction in voter turnout as measured by the number of votes cast as a percentage of the Voting Age Population. The conclusion they draw from this is that registration requirements reduce voter participation. But for several reasons, this may not be the appropriate conclusion.

In the first instance, the Voting Age Population figures during that period were almost certainly underestimated because of the widely but sparsely distributed population. They are all the more unreliable for this purpose because of the differences in voting age and other voter qualifications among the various States.

In the second instance, late 19th Century America was characterized by a fierce competition between highly organized political parties — a competition which sometimes extended to large scale vote buying, ballot box stuffing, multiple voting, and other forms of electoral fraud. It was, in fact, largely *because* of these abuses that voter registration laws were enacted in the first place. The resulting fall-off in turnout may therefore reflect the impact of voter registration laws in eliminating illegal votes rather than dampening genuine participation. And while there is no question that registration requirements, often in combination with now illegal literacy tests or other qualifying devices, were used first in New York and later in the South to supress ethnic and racial minority voting, there is only scant evidence that registration requirements today impose any serious barrier to voting. Recent studies suggest that out of the eighty million or so non-voters, fewer than ten million find registration procedures at all daunting.

Finally, it is noteworthy that nationwide voter participation has steadily declined over the past two decades despite the increasing liberalization of registration requirements and procedures. In the case of North Dakota, where voter registration has never been required, voter turnout since 1960 has dropped fifteen percentage points as compared to ten percentage points for the nation as a whole. There appear, then to be other forces in play.

■ **Increased voter registration does not necessarily lead to increased participation.** It has become fashionable lately to argue that an increase in voter registration will lead to an increase in voter participation. This argument is frequently put forward in conjunction with the previous one that registration requirements depress turnout. Yet, at its core, the notion that registration leads to voting is a fundamentally different proposition and implies more than the mere removal of daunting registration requirements. It therefore deserves separate treatment.

In order to be true, any proposition must be both logically valid and supported by replicable evidence. The proposition that:

> **FACT:** Most voters are registered.
>
> **THEREFORE:** If we increase the number of people who are registered, then we will increase the number of voters.

is simply not logically valid. It is just as logically flawed as saying:

"**FACT**: All cats are furry animals.

THEREFORE: *If we increase the number of furry animals, Then we will increase the number of cats."*

It just ain't necessarily so. Even were the argument properly constructed, as in:

"**FACT**: Registration increases the likelihood of voting.

THEREFORE: If registration is increased, then voting will increase."

the question then arises whether the FACT is indeed true. For if the fact is not true, then the conclusion is not true. And for reasons previously explained, there is yet no clear evidence (and isolated examples are not proof) that registration increases the likelihood of voting.

The notion, then, that increasing registration will alone increase voting is not demonstrably true.

THE THEORIES

With these cautions in mind, let us consider ten of the most common theories of voter participation and their practical implications. While many of these theories have elements in common, they can be distinguished by their emphasis on the primary reasons for voting and non-voting. The first four of these,

- The Learning Theory
- The Apathy Theory
- The Dispositional Theory, and
- The Stage-of-Life Theory

are essentially psychological theories since they deal primarily with the voter's or non-voter's state of mind. The next three,

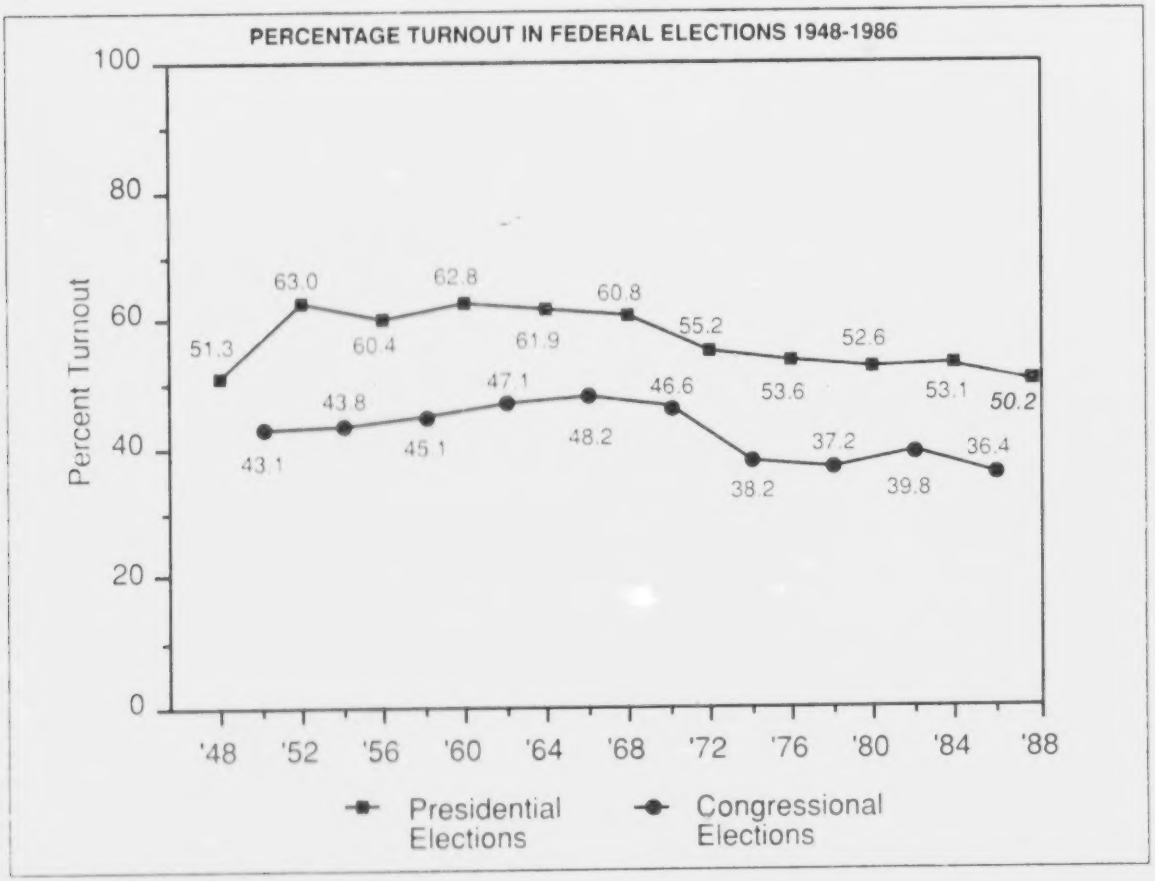
- The Constitutional Theory
- The Administrative Theory, and
- The Information Theory

are essentially systemic theories since they deal primarily with the structure and operation of the political system. The last three,

- The Assimilation Theory
- The Class Struggle Theory, and
- The Critical Realignment Theory

are essentially sociological theories since they deal primarily with group interaction.

■ **The Learning Theory** suggests that voting, like most other behaviors, is learned and that whether a person becomes a voter is largely determined by whether that person's parents were voters. This theory is supported by a substantial body of evidence which also indicates that even the direction of a person's vote (or at least the person's political party identification) may be learned. Proponents of the learning theory tend to advocate voter education programs in the schools (civics courses, mock elections, and the like). Some also support laws permit-



ting and encouraging parents to bring their children along to the *polling place on election day*.

The weakness of this theory is that most of the supporting evidence was collected in the 1940's and 1950's whereas more recent data suggest that it has not held true over time. Moreover, it does not explain why only 16% of those 18-24 years old voted in the 1986 general election (for surely more than that had voting parents). Nor is it very practicable to measure the later effects of voter education on the young.

■ **The Apathy Theory** holds that people abstain from voting either because of a lack of interest in the outcome or because of a lack of belief in their likelihood of affecting the outcome. Some public opinion polls suggest that there may be as many as four different types of apathy at issue here. One is a kind of positive apathy in which people feel that things will stay just as good as they are no matter who wins. The opposite, of course, is a negative apathy in which people feel that things will stay just as bad as they are no matter who wins. A third type of apathy focuses not so much on the outcome as on the likelihood of affecting it. This is typified by those who say "My vote won't make a difference, anyway." And finally, there is an apathy born of indifference to the entire political process — people who are absorbed in their own private affairs of business, avocation, and family and are genuinely disinterested in politics.

Proponents of the apathy theory are inclined to favor motivational programs ("Get Out the Vote" campaigns, promotional advertisements, posters, and the like) which urge citizens to take an interest in the election, register, and vote.

Although this theory has a certain common sense appeal, it does not by itself satisfactorily explain why apathy should occur so unevenly across the population (since turnout varies markedly by age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and State). There is also precious little evidence that any motivational campaign has ever made a difference in turnout.

■ **The Dispositional Theory** refers to the inclination of people to participate in community activities. For there is evidence suggesting that people who attend church, neighborhood gatherings, union or professional meetings, or other such events also tend to vote. Those who are not inclined to participate in such community events are, by the same token, less inclined to vote. Proponents of the dispositional theory are typically skeptical about the potential of any public program to alter the mind set of this withdrawn, non-participatory population. They argue that personality traits are not easily changed and that this one, by its nature, is especially difficult to affect by any form of community pressure.

The force of this argument is blunted by its inability to explain the recent but fairly dramatic dropoff in turnout by traditional "participators" (and, indeed, by traditional voters). Nor does it satisfactorily explain why this supposed personality trait occurs so unevenly across the population both nationally and internationally.

■ **The Stage-of-Life Theory** suggests that voting is related to age in that one's interest in public affairs is tied to one's stage of development in the modern life cycle. The notion is that young people, who are just beginning college or a career, tend to be more absorbed by other interests (such as finding the best pizza, the best beer, and the best possible spouse). As they grow older and begin to settle into a marriage, a home, and an occupation, their tendency to vote increases along with their concern with public affairs (such as taxes, public services, and the like). Their peak voting years of 35 through 65 coincide with their peak involvement in society — property ownership, occupational advancement, and sending their children through school. At 65 or so, they begin to disengage from society. Retired, and with their children grown, they lose interest in public affairs as reflected in their declining voter turnout.

For supporting evidence, proponents of this theory point out that such a pattern of voter turnout by age group has remained fairly consistent over the past two decades or so. And, like the proponents of the dispositional theory, they doubt that much can be done to change human nature.

The charm of this theory is that it seems to explain the differential turnout of voters by age group. It does not, however, explain why so many people (40% or so) refrain from voting in their so-called peak years. Nor does it completely explain the recent drop in turnout. Perhaps the best test of this theory will come in 1988 - 2008 when, with the war babies solidly in their peak voting years, overall voter turnout should improve markedly if this theory is correct.

■ **The Constitutional Theory** has it that voter participation is largely a consequence of the fundamental institutions of government. This notion was presented in some detail earlier in our cautions about comparing the United States with Europe. It suggests that centralized parliamentary systems of government are likely to enjoy a greater participation than decentralized congressional systems because of the clear, immediate, and profound consequences of parliamentary elections; because of the relative simplicity of their ballots; and because of their emphasis on political party and, hence, on party organization.

Proponents of this theory, though they may advocate improvements in teaching civics to better acquaint Americans with their system of government, are not generally sanguine about the prospects of improving our lower rate of participation which they consider to be a built-in price of federalism.

The principal weakness of the constitutional theory is that there are too few cases to support it. For while there are, to be sure, varieties of democratic systems, there are not enough of them to sort out and examine the several variables and assumptions that this theory involves. Moreover, although it may explain certain cross-national differences in participation and may even, to some extent, explain the recent decrease in American voter turnout (less decisive elections about more complex issues, the decay of political party organization, etc.), it does not readily explain the marked differences in turnout amongst the various States.

■ **The Administrative Theory** straightforwardly suggests that the primary deterrent to voting in the United States is the welter of administrative barriers which voters must overcome — especially in registering to vote. The strongest supporting evidence for this view lies in the striking improvement in voter registration and turnout in several of the Southern States since the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Naturally, proponents of this theory advocate further reforms in registration and voting procedures (mail registration, election day registration, and the like) which are intended to facilitate participation by alleviating the administrative burden on prospective voters.

The fundamental weakness of this theory is its failure to explain why voter participation has decreased so sharply in States outside the South despite their increasingly liberalized registration procedures. Nor does it account for the fifteen

NATIONAL VOTER TURNOUT: 1948 - 1986

	Presidential Election Years		Non-Presidential Election Years	
	Number *	% **	Number *	% **
1988	91,594,693	50.15%		
1986			64,991,128	36.41%
1984	92,652,680	53.10%		
1982			67,615,576	39.78%
1980	86,515,221	52.56%		
1978			58,917,938	37.20%
1976	81,555,789	53.55%		
1974			55,943,834	38.23%
1972	77,718,554	55.21%		
1970			58,014,338	46.60%
1968	73,211,875	60.84%		
1966			56,188,046	48.17%
1964	70,644,592	61.92%		
1962			53,141,227	47.05%
1960	68,838,204	62.77%		
1958			47,202,950	45.13%
1956	62,026,648	60.37%		
1954			43,850,995	43.75%
1952	61,551,543	62.98%		
1950			41,684,212	43.12%
1948	48,261,189	51.30%		
AVERAGE PERCENT		*57.46%*		*42.54%*

Total national number of persons voting for highest office.

Percentage of total national voting age population who voted for the highest office.

Source: Voter Registration and Turnout: 1948-1986, CRS Report to the Congress, Royce Crocker (Government Division) with data provided by Kimball Brace (Election Data Services), March 29, 1988

Source for 1988 update: Technical Report 1, FEC Clearinghouse, April, 1989.

percentage point dropoff in turnout since 1960 in North Dakota which, as noted earlier, does not even require voter registration.

■ **The Information Theory** suggests that the real systemic barrier to voting may not lie in the procedures themselves but rather in the paucity of information provided to the public on how to go about registering and voting. Unfortunately, there are few, if any, empirical studies specifically addressing the effect of public information programs on registration and turnout. Yet a fair number of related studies demonstrate that (1) Americans are strikingly unfamiliar with how their government operates (i.e., which offices are responsible for what functions) and that (2) the cost and effort involved in obtaining requisite information can often discourage an activity.

Proponents of this theory thus argue that improved voter information programs (such as newspaper notices, targeted media messages, public service announcements, detailed explanatory pamphlets, a "Voter Information" listing in the telephone book, and the like) are a more effective but less expensive and traumatic measure than changing the procedures themselves.

The strengths and weaknesses of this theory are, of course, nearly identical to those of the administrative theory since both are focused on reducing the cost and effort of citizen participation yet neither can claim that these barriers are the principal deterrent to voting. The additional weakness of the information theory is that it lacks sufficient research to confirm or reject it.

■ **The Assimilation Theory** argues that there is a "mainstream" of American political culture into which minority groups and the newly enfranchised are, if at all, only gradually absorbed. For the most part, members of these "disconnected" groups remain non- participating outsiders to the political system. For supporting evidence, proponents of this idea point out that the enfranchisement of women in 1913 did not induce anything like their equal voting participation until 1980. Further, some studies indicate that first generation Americans are far more reticent about asserting their social and political rights than are their children.

Because of patterns of discrimination, the argument goes, Blacks were not effectively enfranchised until the late 1960's so that their assimilation into the political culture has only just begun. Proponents of this theory thus believe that without positive outreach programs, we may be destined to decades of low voter participation especially among Black, Hispanic, and Asian citizens. Many of this school of thought therefore advocate programs which go beyond merely eliminating administrative barriers and require positive efforts by the government to register potential voters.

The weakness of this theory is that it does not at all explain the marked decline in voter participation by those who are *not* among the disconnected. Nor is there any evidence to indicate that increasing registration will increase voting. Again, the case of North Dakota, which has neither registration requirements nor a substantial minority population, underscores the deficiencies of this theory.

■ **The Class Struggle Theory** is a kind of neo-Marxist view of events complete with the stereotypical social classes in conflict. Puzzled by why the otherwise noble proletariat seem to vote less than those of higher education and income, proponents of this theory predictably blame a conspiracy of the upper classes to supress the participation of the poor. This conspiracy is manifest, it is claimed, in voter registration requirements which work an undue burden on the poor.

Proponents of this notion advocate State and local reforms in voter registration which would not merely eliminate what they consider barriers to the poor but which include positive outreach programs specifically targeted on the poor (registration in social service agencies, etc.). Only through such State and local efforts, they argue, is it possible to dissipate resistance at the national level to this and to other institutional reforms.

The principal weakness to this class struggle notion is that it is not so much a scientific theory as it is a sentimental interpretation of history. As with similar theories in the economic sector, it cannot really be tested. Nor does this approach account for the non-participation or recent decline in turnout by the unpoor. Moreover, the program of action is based on the unsupported assumption that registration leads to turnout.

■ **The Critical Realignment Theory** suggests that there are certain elections in our history which, because of the critical issues of the time, result in major long term realignments of the political party coalitions. These so called "critical elections" are also characterized by surges in voter participation and turnout which either inaugurate or confirm a dominant coalition in power. (The most recent of these events is said to be the New Deal coalition in the early 1930's.) These dominant coalitions, the argument goes, then gradually become victims of their own success by resolving the very problems that brought them to power in the first place. That is to say, the strength of their appeal diminishes over time resulting in a decline in voter turnout until the next critical election.

Proponents of this theory are understandably less concerned than others about the recent decline in voter turnout. They argue that long term cycles in participation are an inherent part of the American political process and that the matter will eventually take care of itself according to the strength and appeal of the critical issues and coalitions of the time.

Although there is some striking historical evidence to support this critical realignment theory, its main weakness is that there have been too few such events from which to draw such a sweeping conclusion. And too, these events have occurred in quite different electoral settings and may therefore not be comparable either to each other or to the situation today.

THE NUMBERS

In the current debate over these theories and, hence, over the likely effect of various proposed reforms, different sets of numbers are being put forward to substantiate different positions. It seems worthwhile, then, to examine the figures on which so many arguments are based.

Those who have labored in the vineyards of election statistics know that the field is more swamp than bedrock. For not only can the numbers be unreliable, but they also may vary according to the source.

Four sets of such numbers predominate in studies of voter participation: Voting Age Population, Eligible Voters, Registered Voters, and Turnout. Each of these warrants some discussion.

■ **Voting Age Population (VAP)** refers to the number of

PERCENTAGE VOTER TURNOUT IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 1960-1988

	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964	1960
AL	45.80	49.85	48.67	46.31	43.27	52.68	35.95	30.82
AK	51.72	59.15	57.20	48.05	46.90	50.02	43.96	43.71
AZ	44.98	45.23	44.36	46.10	47.37	49.94	54.76	52.43
AR	47.00	51.84	51.45	51.10	48.10	54.24	50.58	40.85
CA	47.36	49.56	48.93	50.44	59.51	61.60	65.41	65.76
CO	55.14	55.05	55.79	58.84	59.47	64.84	68.04	69.72
CT	57.92	61.10	61.04	62.77	66.20	68.80	70.68	76.05
DE	50.82	55.46	54.61	57.42	62.14	68.27	68.94	72.31
DC	39.44	43.21	35.40	32.16	30.43	34.46	38.71	N/A
FL	44.72	48.24	48.65	49.17	48.62	53.05	51.19	48.62
GA	38.79	41.98	41.26	42.00	37.26	43.85	43.25	29.25
HI	43.02	44.31	43.51	46.68	49.41	53.81	51.30	49.78
ID	58.34	59.93	67.71	60.68	63.34	73.34	77.17	79.69
IL	53.32	57.11	57.68	59.44	62.34	69.29	73.23	75.54
IN	53.31	55.92	57.61	60.14	60.76	69.76	73.52	76.29
IA	59.26	62.25	62.78	63.14	63.95	69.81	72.89	76.46
KS	54.29	56.84	56.64	58.84	59.52	64.84	65.09	69.63
KY	48.16	50.77	49.87	47.95	48.02	51.18	53.26	57.66
LA	51.28	54.55	53.05	48.74	44.01	54.82	47.32	44.56
ME	62.15	64.77	64.49	63.66	60.27	66.37	65.12	71.73
MD	49.11	51.41	50.02	49.31	49.75	54.38	54.06	56.53
MA	58.05	57.61	59.01	61.65	62.04	67.41	70.01	75.61
MI	54.03	57.90	59.96	58.80	59.39	65.70	67.88	72.16
MN	66.33	68.16	69.96	71.53	68.65	73.75	75.83	76.44
MS	49.89	52.22	51.81	48.00	44.18	53.26	33.90	25.33
MO	54.78	57.25	58.69	57.32	57.28	64.33	67.10	71.49
MT	62.40	65.04	64.99	63.34	67.58	68.09	69.31	70.27
NE	56.68	55.64	56.56	56.21	56.44	60.94	66.46	70.63
NV	44.88	41.48	41.18	44.17	49.53	54.30	52.09	58.30
NH	54.81	52.98	57.14	57.27	63.63	69.62	72.38	78.66
NJ	52.15	56.58	54.88	57.75	59.82	65.98	68.75	70.76
NM	47.35	51.33	50.77	53.44	57.73	60.73	62.01	61.73
NY	48.11	51.18	47.95	50.68	56.35	59.32	63.28	66.49
NC	43.44	47.36	43.42	42.97	42.80	54.35	52.33	52.94
ND	61.54	62.67	64.57	67.24	68.25	70.02	71.38	77.99
OH	55.13	58.00	55.32	55.11	57.28	63.33	66.57	70.68
OK	48.71	52.15	52.09	54.89	56.65	61.24	63.39	63.11
OR	58.59	61.82	61.25	61.34	62.07	66.58	68.91	71.96
PA	50.07	53.98	51.91	54.16	55.95	65.28	67.92	70.30
RI	52.95	55.85	58.60	59.66	60.97	67.19	71.58	75.10
SC	38.91	40.66	40.36	40.27	38.25	46.74	39.37	30.40
SD	61.49	62.57	67.15	64.11	69.39	73.24	74.21	77.59
TN	44.69	49.05	48.68	48.68	43.47	53.70	51.72	49.85
TX	44.23	47.20	44.83	46.33	44.97	48.67	44.60	41.23
UT	60.02	61.55	64.62	68.42	69.44	76.69	78.40	78.23
VT	59.06	59.84	57.65	55.72	60.70	64.05	70.30	72.43
VA	48.23	50.69	47.48	46.97	44.74	50.11	41.05	32.84
WA	54.59	58.36	57.32	59.80	63.13	66.04	71.75	71.89
WV	46.73	51.74	52.69	57.15	62.54	71.80	75.50	77.93
WI	61.98	63.46	67.35	66.52	62.49	66.52	69.51	72.90
WY	50.30	53.38	53.23	58.56	64.41	66.95	74.33	73.32
US	**50.15**	**53.10**	**52.56**	**53.55**	**55.21**	**60.84**	**61.92**	**62.77**

Source: **Voter Registration and Turnout: 1948-1986,** CRS Report to the Congress, Royce Crocker (Government Division) with data provided by Kimball Brace (Election Data Services), March 29, 1988. Source for 1988 update: Technical Report 1, FEC Clearinghouse, April 1989.

persons who are 18 years of age or older. The primary source of these figures is the U.S. Bureau of Census. Still, their numbers are less than absolute. And there are, in fact, three different sets of Census figures on voting age population for each federal election.

- The first set is the *projected* resident voting age population issued by Census usually in the Spring prior to each November general election. Because these figures are merely projections provided for pragmatic purposes, their analytical value is limited.
- A second, more frequently cited set of figures is the *civilian, non-institutionalized* voting age population as determined in each post-election Census survey and reported in their *Current Population Reports, Series P-20, (Voting and Registration)*. It should be noted, however, that the P-20 Series did not begin publication until 1964.
- A third set of Census figures on voting age population can be obtained from their *Current Population Reports, Series P-25, (Population Estimates and Projections)*. Unlike the P-20 Series, these population estimates include both military and institutionalized populations. Despite slight subsequent adjustments made to them, these figures provide virtually the only long-term historical picture available.

It is extremely important, then, for authors and readers alike to be clear on which set of voting age population figures are being used in any analysis of voter participation. For even seemingly minor variances in the base numbers can sometimes result in significant differences in percentages.

■ **Eligible Voters** refers to those *legally entitled* to vote in federal elections. This number is bound to be smaller than the voting age population for the simple reason that the VAP includes resident aliens — both legal and illegal — as well as non-institutionalized persons who are convicted felons, declared *non-compos mentis*, or otherwise ineligible to vote under law. Unfortunately, it is difficult to define with any accuracy just how many eligible voters there are in the United States. The Bureau of Census has estimated that in 1984, for example, there were approximately six million legal aliens, two million illegal aliens, and perhaps half a million institutionalized persons of voting age population. Such an adjustment alone would boost reported turnout in 1984 from 53.10% to 55.81%. Still, in the absence of accurate eligibility figures, most analysts employ voting age population as the base number.

■ **Registered Voters** refers, obviously, to the number of persons registered to vote in those jurisdictions requiring it. There are two sources for such information.

- Official records from State and local jurisdictions provide what one might think would be the most reliable figures on voter registration. These figures tend to be highly inflated, however, since a relatively infrequent purging of voter registration lists for failure to vote may result in names remaining on the list for up to five years after the voter has moved to, and possibly registered in, a new jurisdiction. Moreover, the figures are uneven from State to State owing to different purge cycles (varying from one to five years), different timings of the purge (either before or after the election), and different degrees of diligence with which purges are conducted.
- The Bureau of Census P-20 Series on Voting and Registration (previously noted) provides an alternative source of registration figures at least as far back as 1966. While these figures are also thought to be slightly inflated (owing to false positive responses to the post-election Census surveys), it is a fair guess that they are not nearly so inflated as the official records. The P-20 registration figures pertain, however, only to the civilian, non-institutional population and therefore exclude the military — a factor which might offset, somewhat, the over-reporting of those surveyed.

■ **Turnout** refers, quite formally, to the total number of persons casting a valid ballot in the election. It is the sort of number one would think could be easily determined. Yet neither of the two primary sources for turnout figures provide totally accurate data.

- The Bureau of Census provides turnout figures in its *Current Population Reports, Series P-20 (Registration and Voting)*. These figures are based, however, on survey results which are likely to be somewhat inflated because of respondents being overly generous regarding their past voting behavior.
- Many analysts would prefer to use the official turnout figures compiled by the States. Unfortunately, nearly half the States do not maintain records on total numbers of voters. The accepted alternative is to use the official number of votes cast for the highest office. This figure is not quite accurate, though, since evidence suggests that slightly over 2% of the voters cast a ballot without indicating a choice in the presidential contest. The percentage may be even greater in off-year elections. Correcting for that factor alone would increase reported turnout in 1984 from 53.10% to 54.19%. Combined with the VAP correction noted above, turnout in 1984 increases from 53.10% to 56.79% — still not great, but looking better.

All in all, then, the numbers in play in the current debate over voter participation and reform are soft and spongy. And just as researchers and advocates bear an obligation to identify the sources of their data, so informed readers must remain alert to the weaknesses of the data.

THE CONCLUSION

It is obvious from the several myths and fallacies, from the multitude of imperfect theories, from the softness of the data, and from the relative dearth of solid research on the topic that no one as yet fully understands all the factors governing voter participation in America.

Without a better understanding of why some people vote while others do not, debates over various proposals to encourage participation are more likely to be based on unsubstantiated beliefs and blind advocacy rather than on clear evidence and measured effectiveness. If the problem is worth all the interest and discussion it has recently stirred, then surely it is worth a more systematic investigation than it has received.

AN ABSENCE OF BALLOTS
by
Debra Duff and William Woodwell, Jr.

Reprinted from *The National Voter*, April/May 1989*

It's official. Or is it? Early in March, the Census Bureau released its report on voting and registration in the 1988 election. Confirming the large body of postulations and calculations that went before it, the census report found that voter participation last year hit a near-record low. How low did it hit and why did it happen in 1988? It depends whom you talk to, although there is general agreement that registration procedures remain a substantial barrier to voting.

After calling for registration reforms, people are laying the blame for low turnout at any number of doors. Using the 1988 presidential election as a case in point, lawmakers and political pundits alike point to various aspects of the modern political campaign as possible turnoffs for voters. Most often fingered are negative campaigning, "attack ads," a plethora of public opinion polls and a media more intent on covering the tactics than the issues. It all adds up to what League of Women Voters President Nancy Neuman calls "the great issue void."

"There's nothing to grab onto any more," she says. "The candidates go from photo opportunity to photo opportunity; their campaigns air this commercial after that commercial; and the media is left with nothing to cover except whose campaign machine is running with the most oil."

Neuman emphasizes a comprehensive approach to increasing voter turnout. Registration reform is a necessary first step, she says, and should be followed by closer looks at other issues, including campaign finance, television advertising and the role of the news media in today's political battles. Looking ahead to 1992 and beyond, advocates of registration and campaign reform hope that the numbers tallied by the Census Bureau and others for 1988 will never rear their ugly heads again.

The Numbers

The census figures released in March, based on post-election interviews with a sample group of the voting-age population, found that 57.4 percent of eligible voters reported that they went to the polls in November, and 66.6 percent said that they were registered to vote. Of registered voters, the census figures show 86.2 percent said they voted.

But what about the more sobering, post-election calculations from the media and others who put turnout somewhere closer to 50 percent? The Census Bureau is quick to note a margin of error in its figures stemming from what census people call "misreporting of respondents." "We don't like to call it lying," says the Bureau's Jerry Jennings.

The fact is that people tell the Census Bureau and other pollsters that they voted or are registered when they actually didn't or aren't. And while turnout has been going down, says Jennings, misreporting of voting has been going up. In 1984, for instance, census figures had 101.9 million Americans reporting that they went to the polls when only 92.7 million actually voted for president. That's a 9.9 percent margin between votes cast and reported voting.

Percent Reported Voting, United States
(numbers in thousands)

Region, race Hispanic origin, sex and age	Presidential elections						
	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
Total, voting age	178,098	169,963	157,085	146,548	136,203	116,535	110,604
Percent voted	57.4	59.9	59.2	59.2	63.0	67.8	69.3
White	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
Black	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5[2]
Hispanic[1]	28.8	32.6	29.9	31.8	37.5	(NA)	(NA)
Male	56.4	59.0	59.1	59.6	64.1	69.8	71.9
Female	58.3	60.8	59.4	58.8	62.0	66.0	67.0
18 to 24 years	36.2	40.8	39.9	42.2	49.6	50.4	50.9[3]
25 to 44 years	54.0	58.4	58.7	58.7	62.7	66.6	69.0
45 to 64 years	67.9	69.8	69.3	68.7	70.8	74.9	75.9
65 years and over	68.8	67.7	65.1	62.2	63.5	65.8	66.3

NA Not available.
[1] Hispanics may be of any race.
[2] Black and other races in 1964.
[3] Prior to 1972, includes persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

**By permission from League of Women Voters, 1730 M. Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.*

While most of that margin is attributable to misreporting, says Jennings, part of it can be traced to other factors. First, some people go to the polls but do not vote for president, opting to chime in on other candidates or ballot issues only. In 1976, for example, fully 2 percent of the voting public did not cast votes for a presidential candidate. Also widening the gap between actual and reported voting is the fact that a small percentage of the ballots cast in every election are deemed invalid and are not counted.

So instead of providing scientific estimates of registration and turnout, the census figures are looked to to spotlight trends in registration and voting and variations in voting behavior between different population groups (see chart). What the figures also spotlight are the problems encountered in taking a snapshot of the U.S. electorate.

"Merchants of Gloom"

"There is no consistent way to measure voter turnout," says Warren J. Mitofsky, director of elections and surveys at CBS News. "I believe it was down last year, but I have no idea by how much and I am not impressed with the merchants of gloom who are talking about this huge drop."

Mitofsky has raised serious questions about the numbers people are using to calculate registration and turnout rates. Like all percentages, voter turnout can be calculated by putting a numerator over a denominator in a fraction. Assuming perfect numbers, the turnout fraction would have the number of ballots cast in an election as its numerator and the number of eligible voters as its denominator. But as the Census Bureau points out, the number of ballots cast can be imprecise because of invalidated ballots and because of votes cast for some ballot items but not for others. Mitofsky adds that a significant number of people go to the polls but are turned away because their names are not on the registration rolls.

Similarly, the denominator in the turnout fraction—the number of eligible voters—is a ballpark figure at best. The Census Bureau uses its count of the voting age population as the denominator in its calculations. Mitofsky and others, however, point out that the voting-age population includes an indeterminate number of people who simply cannot vote: aliens, the institutionalized, felons who have lost their right to vote and people who move into a new precinct or state after the registration deadline there has passed.

Curtis Gans, executive director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, counts 9 million ineligible voters out of the 1988 voting-age population of nearly 183 million. Gans's calculations put turnout in 1988 at 54.3 percent. Of registered voters, between 78 and 79 percent voted, he says, acknowledging that "a ballpark figure is all we've got."

The Deadwood Dispute

The registration figure is a ballpark figure primarily because of "deadwood registrants" on local registration rolls—people who should not be counted as registered because they have moved or died. Gans estimates that deadwood registrants comprise 10 percent—or around 13 million—of those on the local rolls. Richard Cloward of HumanSERVE, a voter registration group, disputes Gans's estimate, putting deadwood closer to 20 million. Comments Cloward on the discrepancy between Gans's deadwood estimate and his own: "Curtis treats deadwood registrants as if they could vote, and then announces that they did not."

Cloward estimates that more than 85 percent of registered voters actually go to the polls. Mitofsky agrees, citing University of Michigan studies that show at least 86 percent of registered voters voting in every presidential election since 1964. Both men point to these figures to make the case for removing all registration barriers.

To Mitofsky, that means removing registration itself, which he calls "an anachronism. If you want to increase voter turnout, get rid of registration," he says.

"It's not the only thing, but it's the single most identifiable thing you can do to increase participation."

Mitofsky's claims were bolstered by a post-election survey he conducted for CBS News and the New York Times. Of nonvoters surveyed, he found, 37 percent said they did not vote because they were not registered. Other reasons for not voting fell far behind: 13 percent of the nonvoters said they disliked the candidates; 13 percent were too busy to vote; and 4 percent did not care.

The New York Times/CBS News poll makes a convincing case for opening up the registration process. Of those who were unregistered, the survey found, 75 percent agreed that the laws should be changed to make it easier to register and vote. Would they have gone to the polls if they could have voted? Two-thirds of the unregistered nonvoters said yes.

While few experts or advocates will join Mitofsky in calling for the death of registration, there is widespread agreement that the process can and should be reformed. In Cloward's view, deliberate barriers to registration are succeeding in keeping voter turnout down, particularly among low-income groups and minorities.

"Movements cannot mobilize people effectively in the face of voter registration barriers," he says. "What we need is a government-sponsored program of universal registration."

Variations on such a program are in the works on Capitol Hill, where election reform legislation has not always been a welcome guest. The 101st Congress, however, with the support of the League of Women Voters, appears poised to implement far-reaching reforms to the nation's voter registration laws. Most of the reform proposals borrow from progressive registration initiatives that have proved successful on a state-by-state basis. These include:

*mail-in registration. In the 25 states with mail-in registration, voting-age citizens can register by filling out and dropping in the mailbox a pre-addressed form available through state and local election offices and at other locations. According to the National Association of Secretaries of State, the average overall turnout in states with mail-in registration is more than two percentage points higher than the average in states without it.

*same-day registration. Whereas most states have registration deadlines ranging from 10 to 30 days before an election, Maine, Minnesota and Wisconsin allow voters to add their names to the rolls on election day. "The hype usually comes up in the last seven days of the campaign," says Peter Danton, Maine's deputy secretary of state in charge of elections. "In most places in the country, the registrar's office is closed those seven days." The states with same-day registration consistently have ranked among the highest turnout states in the nation.

*public-agency registration. Allowed in 18 states last year, agency registration is the most prominent nationwide example of a "go-where-the-people-go" policy. In the right places (e.g., housing, employment, food-stamp and income-support offices), agency registration is particularly good at finding unregistered low-income citizens.

*"motor-voter." In gear in 14 states, "motor-voter" programs register citizens to vote when they apply for or renew their drivers' licenses. Motor voter is considered the most effective form of public-agency registration because the majority of adults are in contact with the local bureau of motor vehicles from time to time, especially when they are new to the area.

Ohio Secretary of State Sherrod Brown, whose program to increase voter participation is recognized nationwide as a model for other states, applauds congressional moves to open up the process. "In my view, we need to find some middle ground where the state becomes more active in seeking out people and registering them to vote," he says. "The government doesn't seem to have much trouble finding citizens to pay taxes or people to draft into the armed forces, but when it comes to registering people to vote it appears we're having a difficult time."

The Other Culprits

All that said, even advocates of registration reform acknowledge that 1988's low turnout can be traced to a range of factors. Unprecedented levels of negative television advertising, disillusionment with the candidates, exorbitant campaign spending and press coverage heavy on polls but light on issues all are cited as reasons people opted out of the '88 election. Would fixing one or a combination of these problems bring more Americans to the voting booth in 1992? Maybe yes, maybe no. The experts continue to dispute whether a little more substance and a little less high-priced vitriol would do the trick.

In the view of the League of Women Voters, however, the point is not whether a cure for campaign inadequacies would indeed improve voter turnout. "We're talking about campaign integrity," says League President Neuman. "Campaign finance, negative television advertising, the great issue void we felt in '88—all this needs attention because it affects the health of our political system and the trust voters place in it. I like to think that a little movement on these issues might improve voter turnout. But even if it does not, the League will keep up the pressure."

Those Negative Airwaves

According to Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a professor of communication at the University of Texas at Austin and a specialist in political communication, last year's political advertising hit an all-time low. In an October 1988 Washington Post editorial, Jamieson noted that "never before in a presidential campaign have televised ads sponsored by a major party candidate lied so blatantly as in the campaign of '88."

Many students of history are quick to rebut Jamieson's allegation, noting that mudslinging is no stranger to American politics. According to accounts no doubt inspired by political competition, Grover Cleveland had an illegitimate child, and Abraham Lincoln himself was illegitimate. Other winners and losers from Teddy Roosevelt to Barry Goldwater were accused by opponents of drunkenness, philandering and other behavior not befitting candidates for the office of the nation's chief executive.

But once television assumed its preeminent role in presidential campaigning, shaded truths and innuendoes penetrated American homes like never before—and therein lies the crux of the current debate. Television made the 1988 campaign the most visible and image-driven contest in history and gave more air time and credibility to negative ads and attacks.

What should be done about the powerful advertising-television combination? One proposal circulating on Capitol Hill would offer low-cost advertising rates only to candidates who clearly identify themselves in their ads. This approach would reduce campaign costs and force a linkage between candidates and the allegations they make. Sens. Daniel Inouye (D HI) and Warren Rudman (R NH) offer a variation: a "uniform-format" regulation under which a candidate addresses the camera head-on for the duration of the advertisement.

But would cleaning up the airwaves improve voter turnout? According to the postelection CBS-NY Times poll, more voters characterized the '88 campaign as negative then did nonvoters, implying that negative campaigning was not a major reason for election-day no-shows.

Curtis Gans is convinced, however, that limiting negative television advertising will bring more Americans back to the voting booth. "The one aspect of the turnout picture that can be addressed now is the conduct of the modern campaign," he notes. "Restoring civility and accountability to the political dialogue may not answer all of the nation's ills, but it might halt the slide."

The Cost of Campaigning

What also might halt the slide, some say, is a tightening of regulations governing campaign finance. In 1974, in the wake of the Watergate scandal, Congress first tackled the issue of how candidates fund their campaigns by passing spending limits for congressional races. The Supreme Court, however, in the landmark 1976 case of Buckley v. Valeo, ruled enforced campaign spending limits unconstitutional and a threat to freedom of speech. Instead, voluntary limits were allowed and have been adhered to by most presidential candidates since then in exchange for a set amount of public campaign funds.

Until 1988, the post-Buckley presidential system, funded by money raised through the federal income-tax check-off, was considered above reproach. Last year, however, the national parties exploited a loophole in the system allowing them to funnel an unlimited amount of "soft money" to their state counterparts. Voter registration and get-out-the-vote activities are the expressed purposes of these "party-building" funds, but in election years soft money from on high often is targeted at states where federal races are tight. In 1988, some say this money was used to bolster the national ticket at the state and local levels.

Feeding unlimited funds to national campaigns is illegal under current federal law. But soft money contributions to state parties are permissible in most states. The 1988 presidential campaign set a record for the funneling of contributions by national parties to state and local groups—a trend that reformers would like to stop.

Unlike presidential elections, congressional races do not benefit from public financing. As a result, congressional candidates often must be superior fundraisers, independently wealthy or well-connected to others who are. In 1986, the average cost of a House seat exceeded $350,000; a Senate spot went for the average price of $3 million. According to Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D WV), staunch advocate of campaign finance reform, he and his colleagues each need to raise $10,000 weekly during a six-year term to finance their reelection bids.

What does this big money do to congressional politics? According to most concerned reformers, it raises the shady specter of undue influence. Perfectly legal yet sizeable campaign contributions are favors that someday will need to be repaid. The need for cash also can drive a candidate to a less-than-reputable source in order to pay the bills. Says Rep. Barney Frank (D MA), who raised and spent $1.5 million in a contentious 1982 race. "Politicians are the only people I know who are supposed to be able to take large amounts of money on a regular basis from perfect strangers and not have it influence our behaviour."

The big-money game in Congress also favors incumbents—another problem targeted by campaign reformers. More often than not, funders support the men and women on their way up the power ladder rather than their lesser-known challengers. In 1988, for example, incumbent candidates pocketed 82 percent of all contributions from political action committees. In the Senate, incumbents were favored by donors by a 4 to 1 ratio. Reform advocates point out that new faces cannot challenge the well-oiled status quo and fear that congressional competition has been reduced to a run for the money rather than a challenge of political ideas.

Will the 101st Congress bite the bullet and try to pass some kind of campaign finance law? According to Mary N. Stone, the League of Women Voters Education Fund's expert on campaign finance issues, perhaps the time has come. "There's been a lot of negative press on this issue, and people seem to be fed up with how much money and time it takes to run for office," says Stone. "Many reformers are aghast at the soft money problem. Others are concerned that incumbents are so overwhelmingly the recipients of PAC giving. The challenge will be to see whether or not a viable reform package can be crafted that will provide something for all sides."

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Other Reasons

Specific problems aside, some campaign watchers maintain that many Americans spurned the voting booth last November not out of anger but out of contentment. Unemployment and inflation were down, national pride was up, and Americans of the late 1980's seemed happy and secure. Another possible reason could have been the fact that voters and nonvoters alike were uncomfortable with their choices of candidates. According to the CBS/New York Times poll, both groups expressed dissatisfaction with how Bush and Dukakis would handle the presidency.

While there may be numerous reasons for last-year's record-low turnout, election watchers argue that negative advertising, excessive polling and the lack of real dialogue on the issues should not be forgotten by reformers focusing primarily on registration barriers.

But whatever the other reasons, League President Neuman stands firm that voter registration reform is the first place to direct efforts at increasing voter turnout. "Statistics show that traditionally 80 to 90 percent of registered voters vote in presidential elections," says Neuman. "Maybe we can't expect that level of turnout right away, but we believe that making it easier for people to register is the first step towards bringing more of them to the polls on election day."

NONVOTING

by
Curtis B. Gans, Director
The Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

If one walked the streets of Chicago, as I did, two weeks before the 1986 general election or walked the streets of New York, as I did, one week before that event, one could not find a shred of evidence that a major biennial election was about to take place.

There were no buttons or bumper stickers, placards or palm cards, no banners, balloons or bull horns. No one was soliciting votes, raising issues, hawking campaign materials.

On the newsstands in the three weeks up to and including election week, the three major news magazines—Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report—carried nothing on their covers indicating that they knew or wanted the public to know that a major election was about to occur.

Two of the major television networks (NBC and ABC) were polishing statements putting the best face on their commercial decision to cut their network's prime time election coverage to one hour in favor of more lucrative entertainment fare. The normally intrepid National Public Radio was relegating political news to the last cycle of its major morning and evening programs, Morning Edition and All Things Considered. For economic reasons, even the League of Women Voters was being forced to sell its election guides rather than give them away as it had in all previous elections.

In this election period the two major parties were contributing nothing to stimulate voter interest, opting by conscious decision to offer nothing in the way of policy, program, or theme around which to organize a national debate.

Out in the countryside, the only evidence of a major national campaign was the ubiquitous nastiness of 30-second spot advertising on television and, in the last week, the President, speaking to large crowds of mostly ineligible grammar and high school students and bands, urging them for one last time to "Win one for the Gipper" and beating the very dead horse of the Carter administration.

In this climate, is it any wonder that only 37.1 percent of the eligible electorate voted, that turnout dipped 4 percentage points or ten percent from the last midterm election in 1982? Is it any wonder that turnout dipped to its lowest level since 1942 or that this election witnessed the third lowest turnout in American history or that, outside of the states of the Old Confederacy, turnout was the lowest in American history since 1798?

While the Democrats may claim some glory for capturing the Senate in 1986 and the Republicans may take some pride in gaining some governorships, particularly in the South, no one can claim glory or take pride in an election in which the real results should read: Non-voters 67 percent; Democrats 19 percent; Republicans 17 percent.

The results of the 1986 election are part of a larger and longer-term trend which has witnessed a more than 20 percent (11 percentage points) decline in voter participation in off-year elections since 1962, and a nearly 20 percent drop (10 percentage points) in voting in Presidential elections since 1960. Fully 20 million Americans who formerly voted no longer do so.

According to a recent Congressional Research Service study, the United States now has the lowest rate of voter participation of any democracy in the world.

The real result of the 1988 election was: nonvoters 50 percent, George Bush 27 percent, and Michael Dukakis 23 percent.

Whether citizens voted or not, they did so with an unprecedented level of unhappiness and resentment. They felt the issues of concern were not aired, the candidates programed, their advertising scurrilous, the coverage of the campaign cynical and pre-emptive, the debate sterile and puerile.

They felt manipulated, abused, and abased.

They also felt helpless. They could not get the networks to cease their senseless poll-driven campaign coverage or get them to stop telling the public how it voted while it was still voting. They could not get the consultants to stop polluting the airwaves with demagogic and distorted advertising. They could not get the candidates to depart from their programed patter or to address them as human beings.

During a normal election, there is, after the two major nominating conventions, some public dissatisfaction with the candidates. Usually this declines as the public becomes acclimated to the choices it faces. In 1988, the dissatisfaction rose. It reached 70 percent of the voting electorate on the eve of the election.

In this climate, is it any wonder that half the American electorate tuned out and turned off, and that the other half voted against rather than for — while holding their noses?

Why does it matter whether citizens vote or not? Voting is the minimum level of participation in a democratic society. People who do not vote also tend heavily not to participate in social, civic, or political activity of any kind.. As fewer people vote, public policy is more determined by narrow specialized interest groups. As voting declines, so does the volunteerism so necessary to a healthy society. Disinterest and disengagement increase the potential for demagoguery and authoritarianism.

Democracy is not only the most humane form of government, it is also the most fragile. Government may not be the answer to all of society's problems, but the resolution of those problems must come through the democratic political process. Otherwise, we enhance the chances of rule by a small powerful group or a single powerful individual. We are simply and bluntly in danger of becoming a nation governed of, for, and by the interested few.

What are the causes of our decreasing voter turnout? The answer is complex and not fully known, but procedural problems, demographic differences, and political changes all seem to contribute to nonvoting.

Voter registration barriers probably decrease turnout by 4 to 13 million voters nationwide. Reducing the numbers of elections, shortening the ballot by making some offices appointive rather than elective, eliminating the last vestiges of discrimination, and providing voters with better information about candidates and issues would all enhance voter turnout.

A lack of adequate civic education, co-curricular opportunities for political participation, or leadership training opportunities reduces voting among young people in particular, as well as the general population.

But changes in the ways that government operates and that political campaigns are conducted have the greatest depressive effect on voter turnout. There are six identifiable aspects of this problem. Without some kind of resolution to these depressants, it is difficult to see how voter participation will increase in any significant way.

Policy. The national concensus on national and international policy that emerged from the great depression and World War II broke down in the 1960's. Nothing

has replaced it. Therefore, political leaders have no agreed general policy from which they can start in proposing improvements or adjustments.

Parties. Political parties used to train leaders, mobilize voters, get contending factions to compromise, and be able to enact and implement policies. Now political parties have become powerless. The federal government has taken their ability to provide jobs; television has supplanted their role of providing information; their only role in campaigns is to provide money and technical campaign advice.

Parties no longer stand for anything identifiable. The underpinnings of the Republican Party are right-wing reactionary populism and big business greed. The Democratic Party is a mush of interests without any central thread of national interest. Unless the Republican Party becomes broader and the Democratic Party becomes narrower and more focused, political leaders cannot deliver on their promises because there is no party force to back them up.

Institutions. Large support groups necessary for the outreach and mobilization needed to make it possible to enact a program have withered and become fragmented. Business, labor, churches, liberals, conservatives, agriculture, education, and others have been weakened by television because people participate in these groups less. Some have grown so large they are no longer responsive while some issue groups have become narrow and unwilling to compromise. We need coalitions that are willing to work together for broad societal goals, for ways to cooperate for the common good.

Media. If there is one development since the early 60's that has been harmful to society, it is television. Not only has it atomized our society; weakened our institutions; reduced participation by making people spectators and comsumers rather than involved participants; decreased reading, comprehension, and conversation; and increased public confusion by giving information in undifferentiated blips and by highlighting the most visually exciting—it has also established unreal expectations for our political system by creating heroes and as quickly destroying them and by offering in its advertising and programming instant solutions to all problems in 30 seconds or 30 minutes, giving society a belief that it can have equally rapid solutions to complex social problems.

The media also pose a problem in their coverage of campaigns: their inability to focus on more than two candidates at a time; their propensity for emphasizing the sporting aspects of politics (who is ahead?) over that of the substance of the issues at stake and the character of the office seeker; their arrogance in declaring (based on their polls and their own judgements) winners before the political process itself has chosen winners; their insensitivity to the need for public debate; and their control over the conduct of the campaigns.

But perhaps the most pertinent concern of all is the degree to which there is in the television message no sense of history, no sense of the slow pace of political progress, no sorting out of that which is important from that which is unimportant but visually exciting. In the political campaign, it is easier to focus on a politican's gaffes than on his record, easier to show the balloons and the 7-second theme quote than to explain his views about the important issues facing government.

Governance. Public cynicism about government is a disillusionment with the quality of government. We have been a great society in our ability to respond to great crisis, but we have a terrible record on anticipating crisis or the by-product of technological change. Traffic jams get worse, airplanes don't get you there on time, the water may not be safe to drink, air pollution is killing forests, more people are hungry, crime is up, drugs are out of control, housing is scarce and people are homeless. The legitimate public perception is that government doesn't work very well, that we now pay more and get less — in quality, in service, and in humane life style.

Campaigns. Major political campaigns often devote more than three-fourths of their budget to raising and spending money on television ads. Those ads are usually 30 seconds long, often viciously attacking the candidate's opponent or presenting a red, white, and blue flag-waving picture of the candidate looking inspirational and saying nothing. The impact of this is triply negative: it drains campaign time and money so the candidate must spend time raising money from fat-cats that could otherwise be used in meeting voters; it leaves no money for staff or materials to do grassroots campaigning that would involve people as active participants in the campaign; and it reduces the campaign to meaningless MTV blips instead of discussion of alternative policies.

All of these factors tend to depress people's willingness to give their time and energy to the political process, even to give the minimum amount of time necessary to vote.

To return to the question of why it matters whether citizens vote or not, we also must return to the answer that citizens who do not vote tend not to participate in any kind of social, civic, or political activity. This lack of participation weakens the whole fabric of the "consent of the governed" that is essential for the survival of a democratic society.

Voting is not only a lowest common denominator act and a highly complex act; in a sense it is also a religious act because it is an act of faith. Faith on the part of citizens who want to contribute to the general will to give or to withhold assent to a candidate or a policy. Rekindling that faith involves addressing the root causes of nonvoting. The problem we face is large, and to deal with it we cannot think small.

MEASUREMENT

QUICK QUIZ ON VOTING/NONVOTING

1. Voter turnout in U.S. Presidential elections is:
_____ a. the best in the world
_____ b. about average among free nations
_____ c. the lowest of any democracy

2. Voter turnout in U.S. Presidential elections has:
_____ a. increased rapidly since 1960
_____ b. stayed about the same since 1960
_____ c. declined about 10% since 1960

3. People are more likely to vote if they are: (choose one from each pair)
_____ a. college graduates or _____ b. high school graduates
_____ c. under 24 years old or _____ d. over 65 years old
_____ e. high income or _____ f. low income
_____ g. married or _____ h. single
_____ i. apartment renters or _____ j. homeowners

4. Based on your answers to Question #3, which three of the following are more likely to have support in Congress?
_____ a. reduced taxes on profits made in the stock market
_____ b. increased subsidies to low income housing
_____ c. tax deduction for home mortgage interest payments
_____ d. increased grants for low income college students
_____ e. reduced Social Security benefits
_____ f. increased Social Security benefits

5. Name one way in which government affects your life.

6. Give two reasons that help explain why people do NOT vote.

1.

2.

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"FIRST TUESDAY" VIDEO ORDER FORM

FIRST TUESDAY is a 23-minute video produced by San Diego County to motivate viewers to register and to vote.

This futuristic video tells the story of a group of young people who have formed an "outlaw" organization called FIRST TUESDAY. Their goal is to reinstate the democratic process of voting which was eliminated in 1998 due to massive voter apathy. *FIRST TUESDAY* is shot as a special news report on November 7, 2028 (which would have been a Presidential Election date.)

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VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING PROCEDURES THE HEART OF IT ALL

30

BACKGROUND

The most basic level of participation in a democratic government, the primary right and responsibility of every adult citizen, is voting. Ohio laws on voter registration make it easy to register. National statistics make clear the need to get young voters registered and informed about voting procedures. Recent studies and pilot programs demonstrate that there are effective ways to get students registered.

The previous unit addressed the sad statistics about voter turnout, the implications of low turnout, and some ways to show young people why it is in their best interest to vote. This unit provides the nuts and bolts information and materials needed to get students registered and to familiarize them with voting procedures.

While it is the intent of this lesson to enable and encourage students to register and vote, the teacher needs to observe the law that forbids offering "any valuable consideration" to a student for becoming registered or for voting. Section 3599.01 of the Ohio Revised Code, which prohibits such action as bribery, means that it is illegal to offer any reward for registering or voting, such as extra credit, special privileges, or a chance to win a pizza. It is also illegal to coerce or punish anyone for refraining from registering or voting, for example, by withholding any privilege or refusing to allow them to participate in graduation ceremonies unless they are registered.

Voter registration laws are an excellent example of the interplay between "States' rights" and federal law. The U.S. Constitution guarantees the right to vote regardless of race (Amendment XV), sex (XIX), or age if 18 or older (XXVI). The Voting Rights Act and other federal laws forbid other discriminatory practices in voting. But each state has its own laws and procedures for registering its citizens to vote.

Some states require that you register in person at the office of the local registrar of voters, while about half the states allow you to register by mail. Several states allow you to register at other public offices, especially the agency that issues drivers' licenses. In some states you register with the county clerk, in some the county auditor, in some the municipal clerk, in one state with the county tax commissioner. A number of states allow for deputized registrars to go out into the community and register voters.

Most states require that you be registered at least 30 days before an election, but some require registration as much as 60 days and some as few as 5 days before an election. Three states (Maine, Minnesota, and Wisconsin) allow you to register on election day and then to vote. North Dakota has no registration at all.

Most other democracies in the world do not have our system of voter registration. The government registers all eligible citizens automatically by means similar to our census or by issuing identity cards to all citizens that entitle them to vote.

The suggestions for ways to get students registered to vote and to introduce them to the voting equipment and procedures used in their county are based on practical experience. Both the "Youth and the Election System" (Y.E.S.) study, conducted by the League of Women Voters and the Ohio Secretary of State (1987), and "Case Study: A Success Story in Dade County, Florida" (People for the American Way, *The Vanishing Voter and the Crisis in American Democracy: New Strategies for Reversing the Decline in Voter Participation*, 1988) concluded that direct involvement of well-informed teachers was the surest way to register students. The Y.E.S. program found that direct mail to students and distribution of registration forms and information to students in school without explanation were ineffective. The effective programs were in-class registration and registration assemblies. The Dade County program was a more structured version of the in-class program, providing lists of students eligible to register to social studies teachers, who registered the students and gave the completed forms to the school social studies chairman for delivery to the county election officials.

Voter Registration Requirements

The Ohio Constitution states that anyone may vote who is a United States citizen (either native born or naturalized); who has been a resident of Ohio for at least 30 days before the election; who will be at least 18 years old by the day of the next general election; and who has registered to vote at least 29 days before the election at which he or she intends to vote. Each of these requirements requires some clarification, though most voters can take them at face value.

Citizenship. You must be a citizen at the time you register. You may be either a native born or a naturalized citizen, but a "green card" or possession of perma-

nent resident alien status or application for citizenship is not sufficient.

Residence. If you live in Ohio far enough ahead of the election to get registered, you will automatically fulfill the residency requirement, because both deadlines are 30 days. This is almost never a problem with high school students. It can be a problem when students go to college. The primary test of residency in Ohio is the intent of the voter, that is, what is the place the voter considers "home." Therefore, college students may continue to vote from "back home " or they may decide that the place where they attend school is now "home" and may register and vote from their school address.

Age. When you become 18 is important in voting because there is a little-known provision of Ohio election law that can be very important to young people who are not yet 18 years of age. If they will be 18 by election day in November, they can register to vote while they are still 17. Furthermore, they can vote for candidates in the primary election *while they are still 17* if they will be eligible to vote in the November general election. This law (Revised Code section 3503.07) is reprinted below.

3503.07 Qualifications to register

Each person who will be of the age of eighteen years or more at the next ensuing November election, who is a citizen of the United States, and who, if he continues to reside in the precinct until the next election, will at that time have fulfilled all the requirements as to length of residence to qualify him as an elector shall, unless otherwise disqualified, be entitled to be registered as an elector in such precinct. When once registered, an elector shall not be required to register again unless his registration is cancelled.

HISTORY: 1971 S 460, eff. 3-23-72
1953 H 1; GC 4785-35

3599.01 Bribery

(A) No person shall before, during, or after any primary, convention, or election:
(1) Give, lend, offer, or procure or promise to give, lend, offer, or procure any money, office, position, place or employment, influence, or any other valuable consideration to or for a delegate, elector, or other person;
(2) Attempt by intimidation, coercion, or other unlawful means to induce such delegate or elector to register or refrain from registering or to vote or refrain from voting at a primary, convention, or election for a particular person, question, or issue;
(3) Advance, pay, or cause to be paid or procure or offer to procure money or other valuable thing to or for the use of another, with the intent that it or part thereof shall be used to induce such person to vote or refrain from voting.
(B) Whoever violates this section is guilty of bribery, a felony of the fourth degree; and if he is a candidate he shall forfeit the nomination he received, or if elected to any office he shall forfeit the office to which he was elected at the election with reference to which such offense was committed.

HISTORY: 1982 H 269, §4, eff. 7-1-83
1982 S 199; 126 v 575; 1953 H 1;
GC 4785-190

The theory behind the law is that anyone who will be old enough to vote in the general election should be allowed to help choose the candidates who will be on the ballot. Each year thousands of 17-year-olds could register and vote, but they do not know they are eligible to do so.

This lesson affords many of these young people the opportunity to learn the rules and to become registered so they will not have to miss a single opportunity to express their opinions to their government by casting their vote.

Registration. You must be pre-registered to vote in Ohio. The only exception is for members of the armed forces and their dependents. The registration deadline is 30 days before an election, but Ohio elections are held on Tuesdays, which means the deadline would always fall on a Sunday, so the deadline is postponed to Monday and you get an extra day. The deadline is 9:00 p.m. and it means the registration must have been received by any county board of elections (it doesn't have to be your own county) or by the Secretary of State's office by that time. When you mailed it or gave it to another person or office does not count.

How, Where, Who, When To Register

How. You may register in Ohio in person, by mail, or by giving your completed registration form to someone else to deliver for you. You can get a blank registration form by calling a county board of elections, the Ohio Secretary of State's office, or by picking one up from any of the places listed below. Blank registration forms can even be photocopied if large numbers are needed.

Where. You may register in person at the board of elections in your home county or in any other Ohio county (they will forward it to your home county) or at the Secretary of State's office. You may also register to vote at any deputy registrar of motor vehicles (the places where you renew your driver's license), at any public high school or joint vocational school (state law requires that someone in the school must be a volunteer voter registrar), or at many public libraries and places like YWCA's, government agencies, banks, and at innumerable businesses and offices during the month before the registration deadline for major elections.

Who. Anyone may distribute mail registration forms anywhere, anytime. Therefore you may get a blank form from anyone. If you don't bump into a source, stop by or call any of the places listed above.

When. Registration never closes in Ohio, but if you register less than 30 days before an election, your registration will not be valid for that election. It will be valid for any election held more than 30 days after receipt of your registration by a county board of elections or the Secretary of State's office.

You must re-register if you move, change your name, or do not vote or update your registration for four calendar years.

Voting Procedures

Following the voter registration information in Activities is a detailed explanation of voting procedures in Ohio. This will enable you to explain the procedures on election day and the procedures for voting by absent voter's ballot. Following the Activities section is an account of the evolution of the ballot that can be used for explaining how our ballot developed into its present form.

The very last page of this section is a "First Voter's Guide" that can be photocopied and distributed to students. It contains the basic information that they need to have and answers the most common questions that they ask.

OBJECTIVES

1. At least 85% of eligible students will register to vote.
2. At least 75% of students will be able to list three requirements for registering to vote in Ohio.
3. At least 75% of students will be able to list two ways or places to register to vote in Ohio.
4. At least 75% of students will know how to use the voting system used in their county.

PREPARATION

Voter Registration Programs

Three alternative ways of getting students registered are outlined below. Each has been proved effective. All follow the same basic procedures of going through the registration form line by line with the students, but they vary in where and when this is accomplished.

Many other effective ways have been developed by individual schools to register eligible students. Guidance counselors, administrators, teachers other than social studies teachers, student organizations, and individual students have worked out procedures that register high percentages of students. All programs can work with the commitment and enthusiasm of at least one person, plus the cooperation of the whole staff and administration. If your school has a program that consistently registers over 90% of the eligible students every year, you may not want to change it. If not, the programs and procedures described here will help get your students registered if carried out conscientiously.

In-class. Each social studies teacher distributes registration forms to every student and has the students fill them out as the teacher explains how to fill out each line. The teacher takes responsibility for delivering the completed forms for eligible students to the board of elections before the registration deadline. It is assumed that this has been preceded by a unit on voting participation to motivate students. Follow up with students who were absent.

Assembly. All eligible students (usually all seniors) attend an assembly and fill out registration forms. If this has not been preceded by an opportunity for all of these students to participate in a study of voting participation, an outside speaker can briefly discuss the importance of voting. Follow-up with students who were absent is important or many eligible students will be missed. The registration process will take a little longer in a large group all in one place. Have one teacher conduct the assembly while other teachers circulate among the students to help answer or transmit specific questions and distribute and collect materials.

Listing. This is a modification of the in-class program above. It succeeded in increasing the registration rate for Dade County, Florida, high schools students from 57% to almost 98%. It helps assure that no eligible student is overlooked because of absence on registration day. The social studies supervisor for the school district provides a computer printout of all students old enough to vote to the social studies chairperson of each high school. The chairperson prepares a list of eligible students in each social studies class (usually American government) and gives the lists to the appropriate teachers. Each teacher goes through the registration procedure with each class. The list enables the teacher to check off forms turned in against the names on the list, therefore identifying any students who were missed.

Dade County followed up with awards donated by local businesses to the schools with successful drives. The awards were donations to the school scholarship fund.

HELPFUL HINTS

1. The importance of making sure that local boards of elections receive voter registrations at least 30 days before an election cannot be over-emphasized. Every year some teacher goes to all the trouble of getting students to complete voter registration forms, then mails them or turns them into a school office, and they are delivered to the board of elections after the registration deadline. This is frustrating to any voter, but is devastating to first-time voters who have been charged up and who now look forward to casting their first real vote, only to be embarrassed and dismayed to find they are not registered.

If completed registrations must be mailed, teachers should ask students well before the registration deadline whether they have received registration verification cards from the board of elections. Unfortunately the mail cannot be trusted; registrations have taken 10 days to 2 weeks to reach board offices within the same city; some registrations have never arrived at all. It is far safer to deliver the registrations personally, preferably accompanied by a list of registrants that the board employee who accepts them can sign and date, thereby providing a receipt.

2. Call your county board of elections as early as possible for help with registration, and particularly with supplying voting equipment. They are extremely busy during the 30-60 days before an election; the earlier you call them, the more they can help you.

ACTIVITIES

Voter Registration

1. The following exercises are effective demonstrations of how restricted the right to vote was in this country until comparatively recently. The second exercise will also identify those students who are eligible to become registered voters right now.

Exercise 1. (appropriate any time of the year)

1. Everyone in the room stand up (including teachers and other adults who are present).
2. Everyone who is *not* Protestant sit down. Most states had religious qualifications for voting until the late 18th century.
3. Everyone who does *not* own property worth at least $600 dollars sit down. Some states still had property qualifications for voting until the early 19th century.
4. Everyone who is *not* white sit down. Nonwhites were not allowed to vote in most states until 1870.
5. Everyone who is *not* male sit down. Women did not get the right to vote until 1920.

6. Everyone who is *not* at least 21 years old sit down. The right to vote was not extended to 18-year-olds until 1971.

Look at who is still standing (if any). The only people who were allowed to vote 200 years ago were white male Protestant property owners over 21. None of the rest of you would have had any say in how your government was run.

Exercise 2. (appropriate only between January 1 and October 1 of each year; works best in January through March)

1. Everyone stand up again.
2. All who are not citizens of the U.S. sit down.
3. All who are 16 years of age or younger sit down.
4. Now all whose 18th birthdays are after general election day this year (date varies from year to year between November 2 and November 9; always the Tuesday after the first Monday in November) sit down.
5. Everyone who is still standing should be eligible to register and to vote this year.
6. Now I want everyone who is already 18 to sit down.
7. Those who are still standing are the lucky ones who can register and vote for candidates in a primary while they are still 17.

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2. Discuss the requirements for voter registration in Ohio and the ways to become registered, as described in the Background.

3. Fill out voter registration forms. If students will *not* be 18 by November of this year, this will be a practice session. Students may keep their completed forms as a model when they are old enough to register. If they will be 18 by November _____(date of the general election this year, always the Tuesday after the first Monday in November), they fill out the registration form as you go through it. Students can give their completed forms to the teacher and he or she will take them to the county board of elections.

Voter Registration Procedure

1. Distribute blank registration forms to all students, and loan black pens to those who do not have them. Explain that the students who will not be 18 by the next general election will not be registered, but that completing the form now will show them how it is done properly and will give them an opportunity to ask any questions they may have. If any students announce that they are already registered to vote, ask them to fill out a form, then clip these together with a note to the board of elections that they are probably duplicate registrations.

2. Have the students fill out the forms as you go through it line by line. Have some extra forms available for students who make mistakes filling out their forms.

3. Use black pen. Do not use pencil because it smudges. Do not use blue because the form may be photocopied and blue does not copy clearly. Print everything except your signature.

4. Print your full, proper name (do not use a nickname) in block letters that are clear and easy to read. You may use either a middle initial or your middle name. If you are a "Jr." or "III" or such, be sure to fill that in too.

5. Print the name of your county in the space for it. (This is not needed if you are using forms provided by the county, but it is very important if you are using mail-in forms.)

6. Print the complete house number and street address of your home. Be sure to include "St.," "Ave.," "Blvd.," "Pl.," or whatever. If you live in an apartment, be sure to give the apartment number; if a trailer court, the lot number. Do not use a post office box or rural route number here; the board of elections must know the exact geographical location of your home.

7. If you receive your mail at a post office box or a rural route and box number, put that mailing address under the home address you just filled in. If you do not have any kind of street address, describe the geographic location of your home. (For example: 1½ miles west of the intersection of State Route 23 and County Road 16, on the north side of the road.) This will enable the board of elections to assign you to the correct voting precinct.

8. Fill in the name and zip code of the town to which your mail is addressed.

9. Fill in the date of your birth—month, day, year—and the name of the city (or county, if you were not born in a town) and state where you were born. If you were born outside the United States, give the city and country in which you were born. (For example: Weisbaden, Germany; or Saigon, Vietnam.)

10. Fill in "yes" or "no" to whether you are a native-born U.S. citizen. This can be a little tricky in a few circumstances. Anyone born in the United States is a native born citizen, regardless of the citizenship of their parents. If either of your parents was a U.S. citizen at the time when you were born, you are a native born U.S. citizen regardless of where you were born (you may have dual citizenship). For example: if your father was serving in the U.S. Air Force in Germany and your mother was a German citizen, and you were born in Germany, you are a native born U.S. citizen.

11. It is not uncommon to find that a few students were not born in the United States. The discussion above should clarify which of these students are "native born" even though born outside the U.S.. These students can help explain to the board of elections what might seem an ambiguous answer by using the space for naturalization to write "U.S. citizen overseas." Boards of elections are familiar with the problem and this is usually sufficient to alert them. Thus, the form could read: Birthplace— Weisbaden, Germany; Native Born Citizen?—Yes; If Naturalized Give Date and Name of Court—U.S. citizen overseas.

Students could have become naturalized citizens either in their own right or automatically upon the naturalization of their parents. The exact circumstances can vary, but either the student or his/her parents will doubtless know. For example, a student who was naturalized as a small child with his/her parents might fill in the form in 1990 as follows: Birth date—8-2-72; Birthplace—Bedford, England; Native Born Citizen?-No; If Naturalized . . . through parents, 1974, Cleveland.

12. Ask students to fill in their Social Security number. It is helpful to the board of elections to assure that they have the correct person, especially if they have two or more voters with similar names. However, if a student refuses to give a Social Security number, the registration is valid without it.

13. Ask students to fill in their home phone number. This makes it easy for the board of elections to check any information that is not clear or was filled in incorrectly. (A surprising number of voters forget to fill in something or misread a question.) DO NOT LIST UNLISTED TELEPHONE NUMBERS; voter registration lists are public information, so telephone numbers cannot be kept confidential. If a student has filled in an unlisted number, have him/her black it out or fill out a fresh form.

14. Since students will all be registering for the first time, they will not have any previous registration address. Tell them to write "1st reg." in this blank. This alerts the board of elections that they need not search the files for earlier registrations. Remind the students that, whenever they move, they must fill out a new registration form and give their old address on this line so it can be cancelled. Point out that this keeps them eligible to vote and protects them from being accused of trying to vote twice.

15. They can ignore the change-of-name because it applies only if the voter has been registered to vote under a different name. It does not apply to them because they have not been registered before.

16. Put a check mark in front of New Registration. This helps the board of elections process the application quickly.

17. Have the students SIGN their proper name as they will sign it at the polling place on election day. Any registration that is not signed cannot be processed. Fill in today's date after the signature.

18. Have the students fill in their own name and address on the attached receipt and *leave it attached to the registration form.*

19. Collect the completed registration forms. Check them over to be sure they are complete, accurate, and legible. Then the teacher should sign and date each form on the line that says "Signature of Registrar/Assistor" on both the registration form and the receipt. Return the receipts to the students, urging them to keep the receipt until they receive a verification card from the board of elections. The verification card tells them that the board has them registered and where their precinct voting place is located. They should usually receive it within 2 or 3 weeks after the form is received by the board. Forms do occasionally get lost, so they should check with the board *before the registration deadline* if they have not received verification.

20. The teacher has assumed responsibility for delivering the completed registration forms to the board of elections. Make an alphabetical list of the students and take it to the board with the registration forms. Have a staff person at the board sign and date the list for you to keep as a receipt. It is legally acceptable to mail registrations to the board, but it increases the chances of their being lost or delayed, and the teacher is responsible even if something happens to them.

21. Follow up with any students who are absent to be sure they fill out a registration form and that it gets delivered to the board of elections.

The numbers on this registration form correspond to the numbers in the previous instructions for teachers to use in explaining how the form is to be filled out.

The form on the following page with instructions may be photocopied and used by students to register to vote if registration forms are not provided by the county board of elections.

DETACH THIS RECEIPT BEFORE MAILING

OHIO VOTER REGISTRATION RECEIPT

	Name	Address (Number and Street)	City
Applicant 18			
Registrar/ Assistor	Name	Address	

I assisted the above named person in completing the registration form and/or was entrusted to return the form to the Board of Election or the Secretary of State.

19

Signature of Registrar/Assistor — Date

Fold Here

PLEASE PRINT — Authorized by Secretary of State SHERROD BROWN 1984

Name (Last) — First — Middle (Initial) — County of your residence
4 — 5

Residence (Home) Address (Number and Street) — Apt. — City or Post Office — Zip Code
6 — 8

Additional Rural or Mailing Address (if necessary)
7

Birthdate — Birthplace (City, State, Country) — Native Born Citizen Yes 10 No — If Naturalized, give Date and Name of Court
9 — 11

Furnishing your social security and phone number is voluntary, but conformity cannot be guaranteed. (IRC 3512.14) They enable the Board of Elections to verify your registration.
Social Security Number 12 — Phone No. 13

Previous registration Address (Number and Street) — City or Post Office — County — State
14

CHANGE OF NAME ONLY — Prior Legal Name — Former Signature
15

16 New Registration (I am not now registered to vote in Ohio or I have moved to a different county)

Change of Address (I moved but remain within the same county of) — Date

Change of Name — Date

I declare under penalty of election falsification that the statements herein contained are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that I am legally qualified to vote.

Signature of Applicant 17 — Date

Signature of Registrar (Only) 19 — Date

THE PENALTY FOR ELECTION FALSIFICATION IS IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN 6 MONTHS, OR A FINE OF $1,000, OR BOTH

SEC 4010

FOR BOARD

If ✓ appears in box, current address is on back of card

City, Village, Twp.

Ward

Precinct

School Dist.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FIRST TIME VOTERS

★ Use BLACK PEN and PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY ★ Answer all questions.

Your registration cannot be accepted if it is not complete.

1. Print your LAST name first, then your proper first name (not your nickname), then your middle name or initial. Fill in the COUNTY name (Franklin, Cuyahoga, etc.).
2. Print your home address -- house number and street name; fill in Rd., Ave., St., or whatever; then apartment number, if any. Fill in city and zip code. Do not use P.O. Box or RR number.
3. IF your mail is delivered to a P.O. Box or RR number, fill that in where it asks for "Additional Rural or Mailing Address."
4. Fill in the numbers for month-day-year (10-31-68).
   Print the name of the city, state and country (USA) where you were born. If you were born overseas, fill in the city and country. If you were born overseas to U.S. citizens, add (U.S. citizens overseas.) If you were naturalized, fill in the year and city (such as 1978-Cleveland). If you were naturalized through your parents, print "through parents."
5. If you have a Social Security number, the board of elections would like to have it to avoid confusing you with someone else. Your phone number helps clarify anything on the form that is not clear.
6. Under "Previous registration address, write "1st regis."
7. You don't need to fill in "Change of Name Only."
8. Check the box in front of "New Registration."
9. SIGN THE FORM! And fill in the date.

★ To complete your registration, carefully tear off the form and return it to your teacher, the high school office, or mail it. If you do not mail it yourself, the person to whom you give it should sign the receipt. You fill out the rest of the receipt and keep it so you have a record of when you registered, in case there are any questions.

NOTICE

Your registration must be RECEIVED by a county Board of Elections or the Secretary of State 30 days before the election at which you intend to vote, even if you entrust delivery of the registration to another person or mail the registration. You will be notified by your Board of the location where you vote. THE RECEIPT DOES NOT ENTITLE YOU TO VOTE. You must notify your county Board of Elections if you move within the same county; if you move to a different county, you must complete a new registration.

OHIO VOTER REGISTRATION RECEIPT

Applicant	Name	Address (Number and Street)	(City)
Registrar/ Assistor	Name	Address	

I assisted the above-named person in completing the registration form and/or was entrusted to return the form to the Board of Election or the Secretary of State.

Signature of Registrar/Assistor Date

Return form to any Board of Elections ot mail to SHERROD BROWN, Secretary of State, 30 East Broad Street, 14th Floor, Columbus, Ohio 43266-0418.

All of the contents of the completed registration form will be duplicated for the permanent voter registration file. PLEASE PRINT **Authorized by Secretary of State SHERROD BROWN 1984**

Name (Last) (First) (Middle Initial) County of your residence

Residence (Home) Address (Number and Street) (Apt.) City or Post Office Zip Code

Additional Rural or Mailing Address (if necessary)

Birthdate | Birthplace (City, State, Country) | Native Born Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No | If Naturalized give Date and Name of Court

Furnishing your Social Security and phone number is voluntary, their confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. ORC 3503.14 They enable the Board of Elections to verify your registration. | Social Security Number | Phone No.

Previous registration Address (Number and Street) | City or Post Office | County | State

CHANGE OF NAME ONLY | Prior Legal Name | Former Signature

☐ New Registration (I am not now registered to vote in Ohio or I have moved to a different county)

☐ Change of Address (I moved/will move within the same county on _____ Date)

☐ Change of Name

I declare under penalty of election falsification that the statements herein contained are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that I am legally qualified to vote.

Signature of Applicant Date

Signature of Registrar (if any) Date

THE PENALTY FOR ELECTION FALSIFICATION IS IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN 6 MONTHS, OR A FINE OF $1,000, OR BOTH

FOR BOARD USE ONLY

If "x" appears in box, current address is on back of card ☐

City, Village, Twp.

Ward

Precinct

School Dist.

SEC 4010

Voting Procedure

After you are registered to vote and have studied and discussed the candidates and issues, you will find it helpful to mark a sample ballot or make a list of the candidates for whom you want to vote and how you want to vote on each of the issues. You may take this with you to vote; it will help you make sure you do not overlook any candidates or issues.

You can usually avoid waiting in line to vote if you can go to your polling place in the middle of the morning or the middle of the afternoon. Voting is usually heaviest early in the morning and in the evening.

When you arrive at your polling place go to the table where the pollworkers are seated, and state your name. If there are several precincts voting in one location (for example, in a school gymnasium), it is helpful if you have noted your ward and precinct number on the card that was sent to you by the county board of election to verify your registration. However, the pollworkers can usually direct you to the correct precinct when you give them your street address.

After you state your name and address, a pollworker will ask you to sign the pollbook. This may be a booklet or a computer printout. The pollworker will show you where to sign. Sign your name the same way you signed your voter registration form.

The pollworker will read out your name and address so that another worker can record it in a book called the "clerk's pollbook." At the same time, the first pollworker will compare your signature on the poll list to the signature on your registration form. This is to protect you, so that no one else can vote using your name. The pollworker will also mark your card to show that you have voted.

The whole procedure described above is to assure that only eligible voters are allowed to vote and that they vote the correct ballot. To this point, the procedure is essentially the same in every county in the state. The following procedures vary according to the type of voting system in use.

17-year-olds. If you are voting in a partisan primary election while you are still 17 years old, you may vote only on candidates, not on issues. Therefore, you do not have the option of voting the nonpartisan (issues only) ballot. You *must* request either the Democrat or Republican ballot because 17-year-olds are permitted to vote only on candidates.

Primary. If this is a partisan primary election, you will also be asked which ballot you want. You must state whether you want the Democrat, the Republican, or the nonpartisan (or issues only) ballot. As a first-time voter, you may ask for any one of the three. Asking for either the Democrat or Republican ballot means that you are declaring yourself a member of that political party. This is the only way to declare your party affiliation in Ohio. If you ever want to change your party affiliation in the future, you do it by asking for the other party's ballot at a partisan primary election; then you sign a statement at the polling place that you "hereby state, under penalty of election falsification, that I desire to be affiliated with and that I support the principles of the (new) Party and wish to cast a ballot in the party's primary election this year."

If you do not want to declare any party preference, you may ask for the nonpartisan ballot. This will allow you to vote on any ballot issues or questions, but you will not vote on candidates. The reason for this is that primary elections are really three separate elections held simultaneously. The members of the Democratic Party nominate their candidates for the general election; the members of the Republican party nominate their candidates; but all eligible citizens can vote on the issues. (In some states these three elections are actually held on three separate days.)

If you vote on punch cards or mark sense ballots, you will now be handed a ballot and some kind of secrecy envelope or sleeve. If you vote on any kind of lever or electronic voting machine, you will be handed a slip of paper called an "Authority to Vote." If you are not sure how to mark your ballot or work the equipment, *ask for instructions.* The pollworkers are there to help you and will show you how to do it.

You may have to wait a few minutes until a voting booth is available. A pollworker will direct you to the proper voting booth. (In lever machine counties, the pollworker will ask for your Authority-to-Vote slip.) If there is a long line of people waiting to vote, you may be limited to 5 minutes in the voting booth; if there are only a few waiting or none waiting, you may take as long as you need.

Take out the list of candidates and issues that you had marked, and vote all of your choices. It will take only a minute or two. Check over your selections and make sure that you have not missed anyone or made any errors. See the specific instructions for the voting system used in your county for more detailed directions.

Primary. In a primary election, ballot cards and voting booths may be color coded; voting machines are set for the correct party by a pollworker.

After you finish voting, put your ballots in the secrecy envelope with the number stub showing at the top. Be sure to take your pre-marked list and any campaign literature with you (you may not leave it in the voting booth). Give your ballot (still in the secrecy envelope) to the pollworker who is standing by the ballot box. The pollworker will tear off the numbered stub and put the ballot (still in the envelope) in the ballot box.

This whole procedure protects the secrecy of your vote by removing the number that could identify your ballot. The pollworker needs to see that the number is still attached to your ballot when you hand it to her, to assure that the ballot you handed back is the same ballot that you were given.

After you see the pollworker put your ballot in the ballot box, you have completed voting and should leave the polling place.

If you vote on a lever or electronic machine, you have completed voting when you pull the big lever back to its original position or push the "Vote" button. The curtains will open automatically as your vote is recorded, and you should leave the polling place.

REMEMBER: The pollworkers are there to assure a fair and honest election *and to help voters*. They are aware that anyone voting for the first time is unfamiliar with the voting system and procedures. It is never stupid to ask questions. They cannot tell you for whom to vote, but they will be happy to explain the voting process and answer any questions about it.

If you are not sure how to work the voting device, ask for a demonstration BEFORE you go into the voting booth. It is legal and advisable to take a list into the voting booth with you on which you have already marked the candidates and issues and how you want to vote on them. It helps you find them more quickly, and it helps you avoid overlooking any of them. However, be sure to take your list out of the voting booth with you.

Do NOT make any marks on the voting equipment. If you see any marks on the voting device when you enter the voting booth, tell the pollworkers about them immediately. If you have any questions, ask the pollworkers for help; THEY ARE THERE TO HELP YOU.

The procedure for recording your vote varies according to the kind of voting equipment used in your county. Five different kinds of equipment are used or approved for use in Ohio: single punch-card, multiple punch-cards, mark sense paper ballots, lever machines, and electronic vote recorders. On the following pages are lists of voting systems by county and copies of the official voting instructions for every voting system approved for use in the state of Ohio. Direct recording electronic (DRE) voting devices are not used by any county in Ohio, except on an experimental basis, at the time this is written (1989). However, one type of DRE device has been approved for use in the state, and others have approval pending, so general instructions for this type of voting device have also been included.

Go through the instructions for the voting system used in your county, item by item, with the students, answering questions and demonstrating the procedure with the actual voting equipment used in your county.

OHIO VOTING SYSTEMS

COUNTY	PRECINCT BALLOT	TYPE DEVICE	ABSENTEE BALLOT
ADAMS	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
ALLEN	MULTI-CARD	DATAVOTE	MULTI-CARD
ASHLAND	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
ASHTABULA	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
ATHENS	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
AUGLAIZE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
BELMONT	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
BROWN	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
BUTLER	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
CARROLL	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
CHAMPAIGN	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
CLARK	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
CLERMONT	MULTI-CARD	DATAVOTE	SINGLE CARD
CLINTON	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
COLUMBIANA	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
COSHOCTON	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
CRAWFORD	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
CUYAHOGA	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
DARKE	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
DEFIANCE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
DELAWARE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
ERIE	VOTING MACHINES	SHOUP	PAPER BALLOT
FAIRFIELD	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
FAYETTE	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
FRANKLIN	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	SINGLE CARD
FULTON	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
GALLIA	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
GEAUGA	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
GREEN	SINGLE CARD	VOTOMATIC	SINGLE CARD
GUERNSEY	SINGLE CARD	CES (BRC)	SINGLE CARD

COUNTY	PRECINCT BALLOT	TYPE DEVICE	ABSENTEE BALLOT
HAMILTON	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
HANCOCK	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
HARDIN	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
HARRISON	SINGLE CARD	VOTOMATIC	SINGLE CARD
HENRY	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
HIGHLAND	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
HOCKING	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
HOLMES	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
HURON	SINGLE CARD	F/C	SINGLE CARD
JACKSON	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
JEFFERSON	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
KNOX	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
LAKE	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	SINGLE CARD
LAWRENCE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
LICKING	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
LOGAN	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
LORAIN	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
LUCAS	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	MARK SENSE
MADISON	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
MAHONING	MARK SENSE	AIS	MARK SENSE
MARION	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
MEDINA	SINGLE CARD	F/C	SINGLE CARD
MEIGS	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
MERCER	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
MIAMI	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
MONROE	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
MONTGOMERY	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
MORGAN	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
MORROW	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
MUSKINGUM	SINGLE CARD	F/C	SINGLE CARD
NOBLE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
OTTAWA	MARK SENSE	AIS	MARK SENSE
PAULDING	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
PERRY	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
PICKAWAY	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
PIKE	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
PORTAGE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
PREBLE	SINGLE CARD	VOTOMATICS	SINGLE CARD
PUTNAM	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
RICHLAND	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
ROSS	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
SANDUSKY	SINGLE CARD	F/C	SINGLE CARD
SCIOTO	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
SENECA	SINGLE CARD	F/C	SINGLE CARD
SHELBY	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
STARK	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
SUMMIT	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
TRUMBULL	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
TUSCARAWAS	MULTI-CARD	DATAVOTE	MULTI-CARD
UNION	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD
VAN WERT	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
VINTON	SINGLE CARD	THORNBER(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
WARREN	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
WASHINGTON	VOTING MACHINES	AVM	PAPER BALLOT
WAYNE	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
WILLIAMS	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
WOOD	SINGLE CARD	CES(BRC)	SINGLE CARD
WYANDOT	SINGLE CARD	CES	SINGLE CARD

SINGLE PUNCH CARD

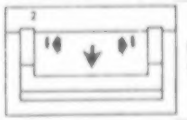
These are the official voting instructions that are posted in every precinct polling place where single punch cards (CES-BRC, Thornber, Fidlar & Chambers) are used.

Important: Use Only Punch Marks In Marking Ballots

1. Any voter who requires assistance to vote by reason of blindness, disability, or inability to read or write may be given assistance by a person of the voter's choice, other than the voter's employer or agent of that employer, or officer or agent of the voter's union.
2. Except as otherwise provided above, a voter shall **not** occupy a voting compartment with another person or speak to anyone while in a voting compartment. A voting compartment may not be occupied more than five minutes when all the voting compartments are in use and voters are waiting.
3. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.
4. If you tear, soil, deface, or erroneously mark a ballot, you may return it to the Precinct Election Official and a second ballot shall be issued to you. **In no case shall more than three (3) ballots be issued to you.**

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

1
Using both hands, insert the ballot card all the way into the slot at the top of the voting device.



2
Make sure the two slots in the end of your card fit down **over the red pins**.

3
Hold the voting instrument straight up. Punch down through the hole beside the number which corresponds to your choice for each office and for each issue. **Do not use pen or pencil.**

4
To vote for a write-in candidate, write the candidate's name and the office on the lines indicated on the inside of the secrecy envelope.

5
Vote all appropriate pages, and remove the ballot card from the vote recorder.

6
Enclose the ballot card in the secrecy envelope and return it to the Precinct Official.

MULTIPLE PUNCH CARDS

These are the official voting instructions that are posted in every precinct polling place where multiple punch cards (Datavote) are used.

Important: Use Only Punch Marks In Marking Ballots

1. Any voter who requires assistance to vote by reason of blindness, disability, or inability to read or write may be given assistance by a person of the voter's choice, other than the voter's employer or agent of that employer, or officer or agent of the voter's union.
2. Except as otherwise provided above, a voter shall **not** occupy a voting compartment with another person or speak to anyone while in a voting compartment. A voting compartment may not be occupied more than five minutes when all the voting compartments are in use and voters are waiting.
3. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.
4. If you tear, soil, deface, or erroneously mark a ballot, you may return it to the Precinct Election Official and a second ballot shall be issued to you. **In no case shall more than three (3) ballots be issued to you.**

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

Step 1

Insert card under plexiglass.

Step 2

To vote for the candidate of your choice, move the lever so the red arrow points to the candidate's name. Press lever all the way down, then release. To vote on a Question or Issue, move the lever so the red arrow points to the words "YES" or "NO" or "FOR" or "AGAINST" as the case may be. Press lever all the way down, then release.

Step 3

Repeat for each selection until first side is complete.

Step 4

Remove card, turn it over, and insert under plexiglass. Vote second side in same manner as the first side.

Step 5

For a write-in candidate, write the candidate's name in the space provided for the particular office. Move lever to the write-in candidate's name; press the lever all the way down and release.

Step 6

After the ballot cards have been voted, enclose cards in secrecy envelope and return to Precinct Official.

MARK SENSE

These are the official voting instructions that are posted in every precinct polling place where mark sense paper ballots (AIS) are used. These ballots are read by an optical scanning device, so incorrectly marked ballots may not be counted properly.

Important: BLACKEN THE OVAL ● TO MARK BALLOT

1. Any voter who requires assistance to vote by reason of blindness, disability, or inability to read or write may be given assistance by a person of the voter's choice, other than the voter's employer or agent of that employer, or officer or agent of the voter's union.
2. Except as otherwise provided above, a voter shall **not** occupy a voting compartment with another person or speak to anyone while in a voting compartment. A voting compartment may not be occupied more than five minutes when all the voting compartments are in use and voters are waiting.
3. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.
4. If you tear, soil, deface, or erroneously mark a ballot, you may return it to the Precinct Election Official and a second ballot shall be issued to you. **In no case shall more than three (3) ballots be issued to you.**

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

1

To vote, you must blacken the oval (●) completely.

2

To write-in a name — you **must** blacken the oval (●) and write the name on the line provided.

3

Use only the pencil provided. Your ballot will be counted by an optical scanner and if you use any other type of pen or pencil it may not be counted.

4

Do not cross out — If you change your mind, exchange your ballot for a new one. In no case shall more than three ballots be issued to you.

5

After voting — Insert ballot in the ballot sleeve so that the ballot stub appears at the bottom. **DO NOT FOLD THE BALLOT.**

6

Return ballot to Precinct Official.

AVM LEVER MACHINES

These are the official voting instructions that are posted in every precinct polling place where lever machines (AVM) are used.

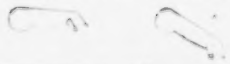
Important: Leave The Pointers Down To Record Your Vote

1. Any voter who requires assistance to vote by reason of blindness, disability, or inability to read or write may be given assistance by a person of the voter's choice, other than the voter's employer or agent of that employer, or officer or agent of the voter's union.
2. Except as otherwise provided above, a voter shall **not** occupy a voting compartment with another person or speak to anyone while in a voting compartment. A voting compartment may not be occupied more than five minutes when all the voting compartments are in use and voters are waiting.
3. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

Step 1
Move the red operating lever to the right to close curtains.

Step 2
To vote for a candidate turn a Voting Pointer down over the name of such candidate.
LEAVE THE POINTERS DOWN.



Step 3
For a Write-in Vote
To vote for a person whose name does not appear on the machine raise the slide at the top of the machine above the title of the office for which you desire to vote, and write-in such name on the paper thus exposed and let the slide down.
CAUTION:
The act of raising a slide for a write-in locks the machine so that you cannot cast a vote for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot for that office.

Step 4
To vote on a Question or Issue turn voting pointer down over the word "YES" or "NO" or "FOR" or "AGAINST" as the case may be.

Step 5
To record your vote— **Leave the pointers down**— Move the red operating lever to the left. This records your vote and opens the curtains, and you may leave the polling place.

SHOUP LEVER MACHINES

These are the official voting instructions that are posted in every precinct polling place where lever machines (Shoup) are used.

Important: Leave The Pointers Down To Record Your Vote

1. Any voter who requires assistance to vote by reason of blindness, disability or inability to read or write may be given assistance by a person of the voter's choice, other than the voter's employer or agent of that employer, or officer or agent of the voter's union.
2. A voting compartment may not be occupied more than five minutes when all the voting compartments are in use and voters are waiting. Except as otherwise provided above, a voter shall **not** occupy a voting compartment with another person or speak to anyone while in a voting compartment.
3. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

Step 1
Turn switch located at top left of the machine to the right to close curtains and unlock the machine for voting.

Step 2
To vote for a candidate turn down the lever at the right of such candidate's name until an "X" appears in the white box beside the candidate's name. Leave the levers with crosses showing.

Step 3
For a Write-in Vote
To vote for a person whose name does not appear on the machine, open the shutter opposite such office in the first column at the extreme left of the face of the machine and write in such name.

CAUTION:
The act of opening the shutter for a write-in locks the machine so that you cannot cast a vote for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot for that office.

Step 4
To vote on a Question or Issue turn down the lever at the right of the word "YES" or "NO" or "FOR" or "AGAINST" as the case may be.

Step 5
To record your vote leave the levers down with crosses showing. Turn the switch at top left of the machine to the left. This will also record the votes and you may leave the polling place.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PAPER BALLOTS

Paper ballots are used at the polling place in Ohio counties only in unusual circumstances. These are the official voting instructions that are posted in every precinct polling place where paper ballots are used.

Important: Use Only Cross Marks Like This "X" In Marking Ballot

1. Any voter who requires assistance to vote by reason of blindness, disability, or inability to read or write may be given assistance by a person of the voter's choice, other than the voter's employer or agent of that employer, or officer or agent of the voter's union.
2. Except as otherwise provided above, a voter shall **not** occupy a voting compartment with another person or speak to anyone while in a voting compartment. A voting compartment may not be occupied more than five minutes when all the voting compartments are in use and voters are waiting.
3. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.
4. If you tear, soil, deface, or erroneously mark a ballot, you may return it to the Precinct Election Official and a second ballot shall be issued to you. **In no case shall more than three (3) ballots be issued to you.**

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
Place an "X" in the rectangular space provided to the left of the candidate's name for whom you desire to vote.	To vote on a Question or Issue, place an "X" to the left of the word "YES" or "NO" or "FOR" or "AGAINST" as the case may be.	For a write-in vote, write or print the candidate's name in the blank space provided and place an "X" in the designated space next to the write-in candidate's name. Any names written on the ballot other than in the blank space provided for write-in candidates shall not be counted.	Fold each ballot so that no part of the face of the ballot is visible.	Return the folded ballots to the Precinct Official in charge of the ballot boxes.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTING ON DIRECT RECORDING ELECTRONIC (DRE) DEVICES

There are a half dozen or more DRE devices on the market, but none was in regular use in Ohio by 1989. While these devices vary in detail in how they are used, overall they are very similar. Anyone who is accustomed to operating automatic bank teller machines or interactive touch-screen television devices will find these devices familiar and easy to understand.

After the polling place official activates the DRE device, the voter sees a screen that lists contests and the candidates' names for each contest. Many devices have blinking lights to indicate which contests are to be voted.

The way in which the voter indicates his choices varies: touching a pressure-sensitive layer over the display screen, pressing a button, or moving a "light pen" to the correct voting position for the preferred candidate for each contest.

A light goes on by the name of each candidate for whom a vote is cast. The DRE device prevents the voter from voting for more than the allowed number of candidates in any contest or from casting an invalid vote, often presenting an error message to the voter on a message display.

Write-in voting is accomplished in one of two ways, either by writing the candidate's name on a paper tape that appears in a window or by spelling out the name on an alphabet that is on the device.

After the voter has indicated his choices in all contests and has checked that his selections are displayed accurately, he records his vote by pressing on or touching the light pen to the "VOTE" button. This enters all of his votes into the electronic memory in the device and causes all the lights on the display screen to go out so no one can see how he voted.

Whenever DRE devices are introduced into an Ohio county, there will be extensive publicity and instruction on how to use them, both in the news media and at the polling place. Those voters who have used them in experiments have found them clear, easy to use, and fun.

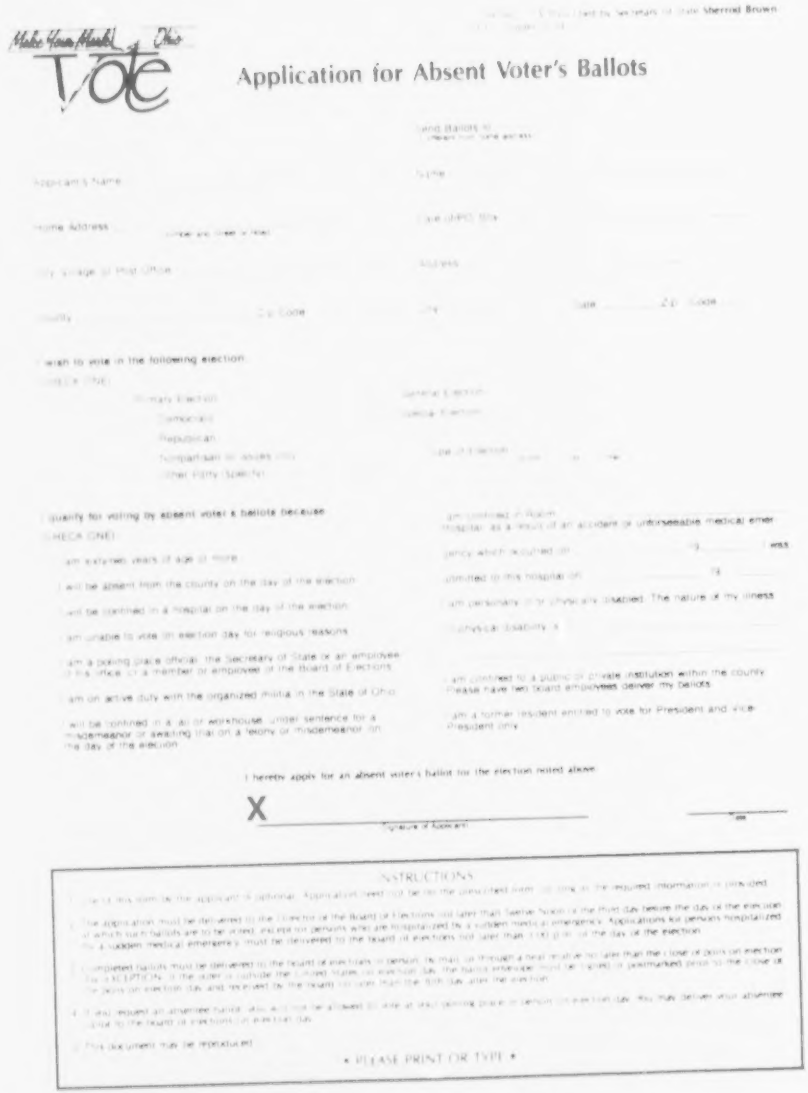
or to mail your ballot puts you at the mercy of an unreliable mail service. Applications or ballots that are received by the board after the deadlines cannot be processed or counted.

> **Alternative: applying in person.** If you know ahead of time that you are going to need to vote absentee, but you are home sometime during the month before an election, you can avoid all the mailing of application and ballot by going to your board of elections and voting your absentee ballot ahead of time. The deadline for doing this is still noon of the third day before the election, but applying and voting can all be done in one stop—with the bonus that the board employees will help you follow the proper procedures to assure that your ballot will be counted.

Marking the ballot. Read the instructions first! Unlike the voter who is voting in person, you may not have time to get a replacement ballot if you mess up your first one. Following are the instructions for voting the four kinds of absentee ballots used in Ohio: paper ballots, mark sense paper ballots, single punch-cards, and multiple punch-cards.

When your absentee ballot arrives, your first reaction may be to panic and put it aside because it looks so complicated. Resist that impulse. Return the ballot as soon as possible to make sure it arrives in time to be counted.

You learned in kindergarten the essential rule for voting by absent voter's ballot: FOLLOW DIRECTIONS. Read all of the instructions through first, then follow them carefully, item by item.



Make Your Mark in Ohio
Vote

Application for Absent Voter's Ballots

I wish to vote in the following election:

I qualify for voting by absent voter's ballots because:

I hereby apply for an absent voter's ballot for the election noted above.

X _____ _____

INSTRUCTIONS

* PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE *

This is the identification envelope in which you put your ballot and secrecy envelope (with punch cards only). Then this sealed envelope is put in the return mailing envelope.

IDENTIFICATION ENVELOPE

STATEMENT OF VOTER

Print your full name ►

I, _____ under
(Printed Name of Voter)

penalty of election falsification declare that the within ballot or ballots contained no voting marks of any kind when I received them and that I caused the ballot or ballots to be marked and enclosed in the identification envelope.

My voting residence is

This is the address at which you are registered to vote ►

_____
(Street and Number, if any, or Rural Route and Number)

of _____ Ohio

Board of Elections will fill this in ►

which is in Ward _____ Precinct _____

I am a qualified elector of the State of Ohio (or a former resident qualified to vote for President and Vice-President only).

I qualify for the use of absent voter ballots because:

Check the reason that applies to you ►

____ I am sixty-two years of age or older.
____ I will be absent from the county on the day of the election.
____ I shall be outside the United States on the day of the election.
(If you check this statement, you must also check the appropriate box on the return envelope.)
____ I will be confined in a hospital on the day of the election.
____ I am unable to vote on election day for religious reasons.
____ I shall be absent from my polling place on the day of the election due to physical illness, disability, or infirmity.
____ I am a polling place official, the Secretary of State or an employee of his office, or a member or employee of the Board of Elections.
____ I am on active duty with the organized militia in the State of Ohio.
____ I will be confined in a jail or workhouse, under sentence for a misdemeanor or awaiting trial on a felony or misdemeanor, on the day of the election.

Fill in the name of your political party (If this is a primary) ►

Fill in type of election ►

Fill in date of election ►

The Primary ballots within this envelope, if any, are Primary Election ballots of the _____ party. Ballots contained herein are to be voted at the _____
(General, Special, or Primary)
election to be held on the _____ day of _____, 19____.

I hereby declare, under penalty of election falsification, that the statements above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date and sign it ►

_____ _____
(Date Signed) (Signature of Voter)

THE PENALTY FOR ELECTION FALSIFICATION IS IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS OR A FINE OF NOT MORE THAN $1,000, OR BOTH.

87

This is a sample of a return mailing envelope for absent voter ballots.

Return Envelope
Absent Voter's Ballots

☐ CHECK IF OUT-OF-COUNTRY

FROM

Fill in your mailing address

These usually require extra postage. Be sure to put on enough.

This will already be completed

TO _____
DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD OF ELECTIONS
OF _____ COUNTY,
_____, OHIO

88

SINGLE PUNCH CARD—ABSENTEE

These are the instructions for marking and returning single punch card absentee ballots.

ABSENT VOTER BOOKLET

GENERAL ELECTION TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1988

WARNING! DO NOT START TO VOTE UNTIL YOU HAVE STUDIED THE INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGES 1 AND 2 THOROUGHLY

INSTRUCTIONS TO ABSENT VOTER

BEFORE VOTING:

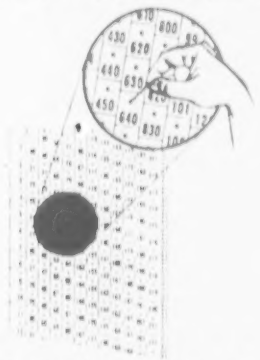
Study the Candidates names that appear in this Absent Voter Booklet.

To the right of each Candidate's name, and to the right of the "YES" or "NO" on each Question, and to the right of the "FOR" or "AGAINST" on each "ISSUE" there is a number.

These are the numbers you MUST locate on the OFFICIAL BALLOT CARD when you are ready to vote.

Examine the OFFICIAL BALLOT CARD. It is a computer card stapled to a foam backing. A "punching tool" is attached to the OFFICIAL BALLOT CARD. On the face of the card are a series of numbers from 1 to 228 with a small dot above each number.

TO VOTE:



1. Remove the "punching tool" from the Official Ballot Card.
2. Find the number on the Official Ballot Card that corresponds to the number to the right of the candidate(s) of your choice, and to the right of the "YES" or "NO" on each question, and to the right of the "FOR" or "AGAINST" on each issue.
3. Firmly punch the small black dot on the card ABOVE the number. (See sketch at right.)
4. If you wish to vote for an authorized write-in candidate whose name does not appear in this Absent Voter Booklet, use the inside flap of the small Secrecy Envelope provided to print the office title and candidate name in the spaces so designated.

DO NOT vote for more Candidates than indicated under each office title.

NOTE: If you spoil the Official Ballot Card, place it in the Secrecy Envelope, return it to the Board of Elections, and request a new Official Ballot Card. The spoiled Official Ballot Card must be received by the Board of Elections before another Official Ballot Card can be issued to you.

5. When you have completed voting, raise (DO NOT DETACH) the Official Ballot Card from the foam backing and place the Official Ballot Card inside the Secrecy Envelope.

DO NOT DETACH THE STUB FROM THE BALLOT CARD

Raise the Official Ballot Card and place the Secrecy Envelope over the Card only.

6. Fill in and sign the Statement of Voter on the outside of the Identification Envelope, put the Official Ballot Card (still attached to foam backing) inside, and seal.
7. Put the sealed Identification Envelope in the Return Envelope and seal the Return Envelope.

If you are outside the United States,
be sure to check the box on the Return Envelope.

8. You may mail the Return Envelope (be sure to put enough postage on it) to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it OR you may deliver it in person or through a near relative to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it.
9. DO NOT RETURN ABSENT VOTER BOOKLET.

NOTE! Any voter who has requested an absent voter ballot will NOT be allowed to vote in person at a polling place on election day; you are not allowed to return your absent voter ballot to your polling place.

THE RETURN ENVELOPE WITH BALLOT INSIDE MUST BE RECEIVED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD NO LATER THAN THE CLOSE OF THE POLLS (7:30 p.m.) ON ELECTION DAY.

EXECEPTION: If you are outside of the United States on election day, the ballot must be signed or postmarked before the close of the polls on election day and must be received by the Board of Elections no later than the 10th day after the election.

BALLOTS RECEIVED AFTER THE DEADLINE WILL NOT BE COUNTED.

Absent Voter Ballot Card must be returned before:
7:30 p.m. November 8, 1988

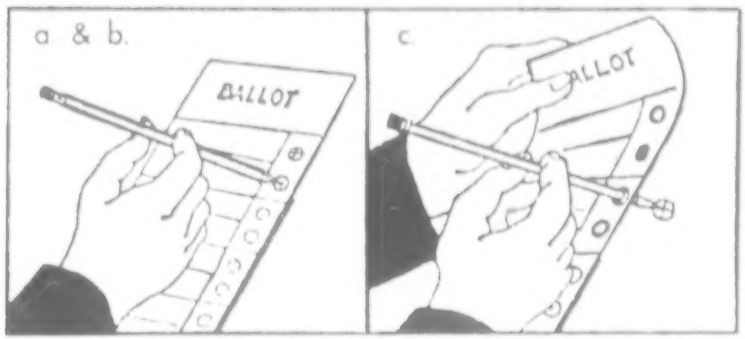
MULTIPLE PUNCH CARDS—ABSENTEE

These are the instructions for marking and returning multiple punch card absentee ballots.

ABSENTEE BALLOT INSTRUCTIONS

HOW TO VOTE

1. Vote only **one card at a time.** VOTE BOTH SIDES OF EACH CARD if both sides are printed.
2. Record your vote by removing completely the circled cross ⊕ to the right of your choice. Use the following method.
   a. Put card on table top.
   b. With tip of a ball point pen or pencil, press down circled cross ⊕ to the right of your choice.
   c. While still pressing down in circled cross, **slowly** raise card with the other hand until circled cross ⊕ is completely detached from card.
3. To cast a WRITE-IN VOTE, write your candidate's name in the space provided on the ballot card under the appropriate office and punch your ballot.



Following the above instructions, remove **completely** the circled cross ⊕ to the right of the name.

4. Replace ballot card(s) in the envelope.

NOTE! If you spoil the Official Cards, place them in the Secrecy Envelope, return them to the Board of Elections, and request new Official Ballot Cards. The spoiled Official Ballot Cards must be received by the Board of Elections before another set of Official Ballot Cards can be issued to you.

5. When you have completed voting, place the Official Ballot Card inside the Secrecy Envelope.
   DO NOT DETACH THE STUBS FROM THE BALLOT CARDS

6. Fill in and sign the "Statement of Voter" on the outside of the Identification Envelope, put the Official Ballot Card inside and seal.

7. Put the sealed Identification Envelope in the Return Envelope and seal the Return Envelope. If you are outside the United States, be sure to check the box on the Return Envelope.

8. You may mail the Return Envelope (be sure to put enough postage on it) to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it, OR you may deliver it in person or through a near relative to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it.

NOTE! Any voter who has requested an absent voter ballot will NOT be allowed to vote in person at a polling place on election day; you are not allowed to return your absent voter ballot to your polling place.

THE RETURN ENVELOPE WITH BALLOT INSIDE MUST BE RECEIVED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD NO LATER THAN THE CLOSE OF THE POLLS (7:30 pm) ON ELECTION DAY.

EXCEPTION: If you are outside of the United States on election day, the ballot must be signed or postmarked before the close of the polls on election day and must be received by the Board of Elections no later than the 10th day after the election. BALLOTS RECEIVED AFTER THE DEADLINE WILL NOT BE COUNTED.

Absent Voter Ballot Card must be returned before 7:30 p.m. Election Day.

MARK SENSE—ABSENTEE

These are the instructions for marking and returning mark sense (optical scan) paper absentee ballots.

IMPORTANT: BLACKEN THE OVAL ⬬ TO MARK BALLOT

Marking the Ballot and Write-in Voting

1. To vote you must blacken the oval (⬬) completely.
2. To write-in a name you **must** blacken the oval (⬬) and write the name on the line provided.
3. Use only the pencil provided. Your ballot will be counted by an optical scanner, and if you use any other type of pen or pencil it may not be counted.
4. If you tear, soil, deface, or erroneously mark a ballot, you may return it to the Board of Elections and request a new ballot. The spoiled ballot must be received by the Board of Elections before another ballot can be issued to you.
5. No mark shall be made on any ballot which would in any way enable any person to identify the person who voted such ballot.
6. Fill in and sign the Statement of Voter on the outside of the Identification Envelope, put the Official Ballot inside and seal.
7. Put the sealed Identification Envelope in the Return Envelope and seal the Return Envelope. If you are outside the United States, be sure to check the box on the Return Envelope.
8. You may mail the Return Envelope (be sure to put enough postage on it) to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it OR you may deliver it in person or through a near relative to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it.

NOTE! Any voter who has requested an absent voter ballot will NOT be allowed to vote in person at a polling place on election day; you are not allowed to return your absent voter ballot to your polling place.

THE RETURN ENVELOPE WITH BALLOT INSIDE MUST BE RECEIVED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD NO LATER THAN THE CLOSE OF THE POLLS (7:30 pm) ON ELECTION DAY.

EXCEPTION: If you are outside of the United States on election day, the ballot must be signed or postmarked before the close of the polls on election day and must be received by the Board of Elections no later than the 10th day after the election.

BALLOTS RECEIVED AFTER THE DEADLINE WILL NOT BE COUNTED.

Absent Voter Ballot must be returned before 7:30 p.m. Election Day.

PAPER—ABSENTEE

These are the instructions for marking and returning paper absentee ballots.

IMPORTANT: Use Only Cross Marks Like This "X" In Marking Ballot

Marking The Ballot and Write-in Voting

1. Place an "X" in the rectangular space provided to the left of the candidate's name for whom you desire to vote.
2. To vote on a Question or Issue, place an "X" to the left of the word "YES" or "NO" or "FOR" or "AGAINST", as the case may be.
3. For a write-in vote, write or print the candidate's name in the blank space provided and place an "X" in the designated space next to the write-in candidate's name. Any names written on the ballot other than in the blank space provided for write-in candidates shall not be counted. **DO NOT vote for more candidates than indicated under each office title.**
4. Fold each ballot so that no part of the face of the ballot is visible.
5. If you tear, soil, deface or erroneously mark ballots, you may return them to the Board of Elections and request new ballots. The spoiled ballots must be received by the Board of Elections before another ballot can be issued to you.
6. Fill in and sign the Statement of Voter on the outside of the Identification Envelope, put the ballots inside and seal.
7. Put the sealed Identification Envelope in the Return Envelope and seal the Return Envelope. If you are outside the United States, be sure to check the box on the Return Envelope.
8. You may mail the Return Envelope (be sure to put enough postage on it) to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it, OR you may deliver it in person or through a near relative to the Director of the Board of Elections from which you received it.

NOTE! Any voter who has requested an absent voter ballot will NOT be allowed to vote in person at a polling place on election day; you are not allowed to return your absent voter ballot to your polling place.

THE RETURN ENVELOPE WITH BALLOT INSIDE MUST BE RECEIVED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD NO LATER THAN THE CLOSE OF THE POLLS (7:30 pm) ON ELECTION DAY.

EXCEPTION: If you are outside of the United States on election day, the ballot must be signed or postmarked before the close of the polls on election day and must be received by the Board of Elections no later than the 10th day after the election.

Absent Voter Ballots must be returned before 7:30 P.M. Election Day.

MEASUREMENTS

The primary measurement will be the number of eligible students who register to vote. A simple quiz like the following could provide an opportunity to review and reinforce the major points about registration and voting.

Review Quiz

1. There are three requirements you must meet to be eligible to register to vote in Ohio. You must be:

   a. a citizen of *(the United States)*,

   b. a resident of *(Ohio; also accept state, county, town)*,

   c. at least *(18)* years old by the day of the general election in November.

2. When you go to a polling place to vote, the first thing they will ask will be *(your name)*.

3. What do you write on the poll list? *(your name and address)*

4. How do they check that you are registered to vote in that precinct? *(look up your registration card in the precinct binder or poll book)*

5. How do the pollworkers verify your identity? *(compare your signature on your registration card to the one you just signed on the poll list)*

6. What can you do if you registered but your card is not in the precinct book? *(call or go to the county board of elections and see if they can find it)*

7. What can you do if you are voting on punch cards or optical scan paper ballots and you make a mistake in marking your ballot? *(ask the pollworkers for help or tell them you need a new ballot)*

   OR

   What can you do if you are voting on a lever machine or electronic machine and you do not know how to work it? *(ask the pollworkers to show you how it works BEFORE you start)*

8. If I am in line before the polls close, but I have not gotten to sign in and vote by 7:30, will I still be allowed to vote? *(Yes)*

FOLLOW-UP

Work individually with eligible students who were absent when the rest of the class registered, helping them fill out their registration forms.

Be sure all completed registration forms are delivered to the board of elections before the registration deadline.

Discuss the issues and candidates in the upcoming election in class. Invite candidates and spokespersons on both sides of the issues to talk to classes. Encourage students to attend candidates' nights and issue forums and to ask questions; to get involved in campaigns (see Volunteers, page 80). Most of all, remind the students, the day before the election and on election day, to VOTE.

The day after the election, ask how many students did vote. Ask them to describe the experience and recount any anecdotes about it. Make voting important.

RESOURCE PERSONS

It is almost impossible to demonstrate your county's voting system without the help of your county board of elections. Call them when you first begin preparations for this unit. They can also answer questions and provide registration forms, Voter Information Guides, and other materials.

The League of Women Voters in many areas has members who have worked with schools to help register students. They can often offer advice, materials, and assistance.

The field representatives of the Secretary of State can help with information, materials, and how to get in touch with people.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BALLOT

The first three words of the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, "We, the people,..." are evidence that the power to govern in the United States lies with "the people." This power to govern is exercised, directly and indirectly, through our right to vote. Voting is our way of making decisions, of speaking out to express our opinion on issues, and of expressing satisfaction or dissatisfaction with public officials. The ballot stands as a guardian of the people's rights. While free elections constitute the foundation of modern republican government, the ballot has ancient origins and a long history, and it would be an error to regard it as a creation of modern times.

Citizens of ancient Greece, for example, established democratic forms of government in some of their cities, and elections were held to select the officers of those cities. A feature of Athenian government was the right of the people to ostracize or banish from the city any person who became a threat to Athenian democracy or was otherwise considered undesirable, and the process of banishment was by a secret ballot on the question of whether the particular person was to be banished. The ballots were cast in the form of marked shells called "ostrakon" which bore marks for or against the banishment. If the majority of the shells were marked in favor of banishing the person, he was banished. The work "ostracize" comes from the name of the marked shells used for ballots.

The ancient Romans voted by means of wooden ballots, called "tabellae". The Roman legal code included fixed rules on the method of conducting secret elections.

In the Middle Ages secret elections played a part in the government of the Christian Church and in the government of trade guilds.

Our word "ballot" comes from the Latin word "ballota" and the French word "ballote" which means a ball. This suggests a form of ballot which has been common in various times and places. Voting has often been carried on by the placing of a colored ball in a closed container. Black has usually been the color of a "no" vote, and from this custom we derive the modern term "blackball," meaning to reject or to vote against. While providing secrecy, this method of voting allows for only "yes" or "no" votes and can be cumbersome if there are a number of issues to be decided.

Early American Balloting

The ballot came to America with the first settlers. In 1647 Massachusetts law provided that votes would be cast by "wrighting the names of the persons elected, in papers open or once foulded, not twisted nor rowled up, that they may be sooner perused." More common than paper ballots in Colonial America and in the early days of the Republic, however, was the "viva voice" or voice vote method of balloting. The voter would come into the polling place, tell the clerks how he voted, and the clerks would record his vote in a book. There was no secrecy in this method. The candidates might be there listening to the voters, and often they were. This open method of voting continued in use in the United States for many years after independence was won.

Resistance to the secret ballot was based on the idea that the masses of the people could not be trusted to cast an honest ballot in secret. A man should not be allowed to vote, it was said, if he did not have the courage to stand up and vote in public. Furthermore, parties and candidates wanted to know who had voted for them and who against them. The principal defect in the voice vote system was, of course, that employers could fire employees who did not vote as they were told, landowners could evict tenants for the same reason, and when votes were bought the purchaser could watch the voting and see that he got his money's worth. Sentiment for reform therefore became irresistible with the passage of time, and by the middle of the nineteenth century most of the states had adopted a paper ballot with some guarantee of secrecy.

The paper ballot alone did not provide complete protection. Early paper ballots were not printed by the states. The voter simply wrote the names of his choices on any kind of paper and deposited it in the box. For the convenience of the voter, especially the voter who could not write, the parties began printing ballots. Outside the polls, party workers peddled the ballots of their party and urged voters to take that ballot and put it in the box. Such a ballot would have on it only the names of the candidates of one party, and usually it was printed on paper of a distinctive color so that the party workers watching at the polls could tell what voters were using that party's ballot. Thus, people working at the polls could tell how a person voted by noticing whether he put in the box a pink or a green or a yellow ballot. Besides lacking secrecy, this voting system was subjected to various forms of cheating and corruption. It was recognized that democracy only works with honest elections and that further reform was necessary for the protection of the people's rights. Ohio was to be in the forefront of the movement for election reform.

Elections in Ohio

As early as 1800 the secret ballot was adopted for the government in the Northwest Territory. When Ohio was formed in 1803, it inherited an election system that was modern for that time.

In the early days of Ohio's statehood, voters travelled for many miles on foot or on horseback over the rugged terrain to reach the county seat where their ballots could be cast. That people voted at all under those conditions was proof of their dedication to democracy. Improvement of voting facilities was gradually accomplished, of course, so that the average voter of today lives within a short distance from his or her polling place.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the General Assembly was deeply concerned with the defects in the existing methods of conducting elections and with the political corruption which was one product of those defects. Ohio was subject to the misfortunes already described which arose out of the informal method of printing ballots. Accordingly, in 1854 the General Assembly enacted a law requiring all ballots to be printed on plain white paper of a uniform size. (But see 1864 ballots reproduced on p. 52. These were printed on various colors of paper and in varying sizes).

The ballot was to be so made that when folded by the voter for deposit in the ballot box no one could tell how that person had voted. In 1886 the Pugsley Law was enacted. It placed control of the elections in Ohio's major cities in the hands of nonpartisan boards of elections. In 1888 loitering around the polls was prohibited, so that harassment of the voter and last-minute attempts to win his vote when he was already inside the polling place came to an end.

One of the most important and thorough of all election reforms remained, however, for 1891. It was in that year that Ohio became one of the first states to adopt the Australian Ballot.

With the adoption of the Australian Ballot, the method of balloting became essentially what it is today. This method is so familiar and so much taken for granted that it is difficult for the average person to imagine that elections were ever conducted any other way. It was only in 1857, however, that the Australian Francis S. Dutton developed the essential features of this balloting system. It was adopted in Australia, then in England, and then was brought across the Atlantic to Canada and the United States. In 1888 Kentucky adopted the Australian Ballot for municipal elections in Louisville. In the same year Massachusetts adopted it for all state elections, and on April 30, 1891, it was adopted for Ohio by an act of the General Assembly. By the presidential election of 1892 the Australian Ballot was in use in thirty-two states, and by 1924 only one state had failed to adopt it.

What are the essential features of this major election reform?

1. All ballots are printed at public expense under the supervision of public officials and are transmitted by these officials to the polling places where they will be used.

2. The names of all nominated candidates, of whatever party, are printed on one ballot—although, of course, if national, state, and local officers are all being elected at one election it is usually necessary to put some offices on second and third ballots. These ballots carry on the back some official identifying mark that prevents counterfeiting. In Ohio that mark is the signatures of election board members.

3. Ballots (or access to a voting machine) can be secured only from properly authorized election officials.

4. Ballots must be marked in absolute secrecy inside voting booths. Ballots are folded by the voter so as to conceal all voting marks, and the voter is prohibited from signing his or her name on the ballot or placing on it any other identifying mark. The voter witnesses the depositing of the ballot in the box.

These basic reforms eliminated the skullduggery which too often characterized the earlier system. The absolute secrecy of the ballot was guaranteed. Voting in secrecy, the American voter need not fear coercion, intimidation, ridicule, or violence. Buying votes becomes difficult when the buyer has no way of knowing how the voter marked his ballot.

The adoption of the Australian Ballot did not, however, end progress in improving Ohio's election system. In 1912 Ohio adopted a constitutional amendment that instituted primary elections and ended the old, colorful method of nominating candidates in county and state conventions. Feeling that candidates nominated by these conventions were too often hand-picked by party leaders without any consideration for the people's wishes, the people of Ohio voted for the amendment that was to give them a direct voice in the selection of nominees. In 1949 the voters of Ohio again amended their constitution, this time to abolish the old party-column ballot on which a voter could vote for all the candidates of one party by merely making an X in a circle at the top of that party's column. By this amendment Ohio adopted the Massachusetts or office-type ballot. On this ballot the candidates are listed under the titles of the offices for which they are running, and their party is listed beneath the candidate's name. The names of the candidates are rotated so that the same

HAMILTON COUNTY.

OHIO

UNION PRESIDENTIAL TICKET

(Election November 8, 1864.)

For President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

OF ILLINOIS.

For Vice President,

ANDREW JOHNSON,

OF TENNESSEE.

Electors.

JOHN M. CONNELL, } *At Large.*
JOHN P. BIEHN, }
JOHN K. GREEN,
STANLEY MATTHEWS,
LEWIS B. GUNCKEL,
STEPHEN JOHNSTON,
WILLIAM L. WALKER
MILLS GARDNER,
HENRY W. SMITH,
OZIAS BOWEN,
JACOB SCROGGS,
WILLIAM SHEFFIELD,
GEORGE A. WALLER,
HENRY F. PAGE,
JAMES R. STANBERY,
JOHN H. McCOMBS,
FREDERICK W. WOOD,
LORENZO DANFORD,
JOHN McCOOK,
SETH MARSHALL,
ABNER KELLOGG.

☞ Whoever votes this Ticket will write the name of his County on this blank line.

☞ _____

COUNTY, OHIO.

NATIONAL.

Democratic Ticket.

The Union must be preserved at all hazards. McClellan's letter of acceptance, Sept. 8, 1864.

For President,

George B. McClellan

OF NEW JERSEY.

For Vice President,

George H. Pendleton

OF OHIO.

[OHIO ELECTORAL TICKET.]

For Electors of President and Vice President of the United States:

CHARLES REEMELIN,
THOMAS W. BARTLEY,
JOHN L. VATTIER,
JOHN SCHIFF,
WILLIAM J. GILMORE,
LUTHER SMITH,
CHARLES N. LAMISON,
WILLIAM B. TELFAIR,
WILLIAM H. CREIGHTON,
JUDSON A. BEEBE,
EDWARD S. STOWE,
JAMES G. HALY,
HENRY C. MOORE,
JAMES EMMITT,
CHARLES H. JOHNSTON,
NEAL POWER,
ROBERT A. CONSTABLE,
OLIVER J. SWANEY,
CHARLES M. ATEN,
DAVID R. PAIGE,
SIMEON L. HUNT

These are ballots that were printed for the Presidential election in 1864 and distributed by the Republican and Democratic Parties, to soldiers from Ohio who were serving in the Union Army.

OFFICIAL OFFICE TYPE BALLOT

Franklin County

a. To vote for a candidate place "X" in the rectangular space at the left of the name of such candidate.

b. To cast a write-in vote place "X" in the left blank and write the candidate's name in the space provided.

c. If you tear, soil, deface or erroneously mark this ballot, return it to the precinct election officers and obtain another ballot.

USE "X" ONLY IN MARKING BALLOT

For Governor

JOHN J. GILLIGAN
Democrat

EDWIN G. LAWTON
American Independent Party

JOSEPH PIRINCIN
Socialist Labor Party

ROGER CLOUD
Republican

For Lieutenant Governor

ANTHONY O. CALABRESE
Democrat

JOHN W. BROWN
Republican

For Attorney General

JOHN D. HERBERT
Republican

WILLIAM J. BROWN
Democrat

For Auditor of State

ROGER W. TRACY, JR.
Republican

JOSEPH T. FERGUSON
Democrat

For Secretary of State

JOHN F. KENNEDY
Democrat

TED W. BROWN
Republican

For Treasurer of State

ROBIN T. TURNER
Republican

GERTRUDE W. DONAHEY
Democrat

For United States Senator

HOWARD M. METZENBAUM
Democrat

JOHN O'NEILL
Socialist Labor Party

ROBERT TAFT, JR.
Republican

RICHARD B. KAY
American Independent Party

For Representative to Congress (15th District)

CHALMERS P. WYLIE
Republican

MANLEY L. MC GEE
Democrat

For State Senator (15th District)

JERRY O'SHAUGHNESSY
Democrat

JOHN W. E. BOWEN
Republican

For State Representative (63rd District)

LUCIEN C. WRIGHT
Republican

PHALE D. HALE
Democrat

For County Commissioner

ROBERT T. SOUTHWICK
Republican

ROBERT L. JOHNSON
Democrat

For County Auditor

ARCH J. WARREN
Republican

GARY L. JONES
Democrat

This was the ballot used by absent voters in Franklin County in the general election in November, 1970.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

OFFICIAL PARTY COLUMN BALLOT

USE X ONLY IN MARKING BALLOT

DEMOCRATIC TICKET	REPUBLICAN TICKET	COMMUNIST TICKET	UNION TICKET	INDEPENDENT TICKET
For President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT For Vice President JOHN N. GARNER	For President ALFRED M. LANDON For Vice President FRANK KNOX	For President EARL BROWDER For Vice President JAMES W. FORD	For President WILLIAM LEMKE For Vice President THOMAS CHARLES O'BRIEN	
For Governor MARTIN L. DAVEY	For Governor JOHN W. BRICKER	For Governor ANDREW S. DROZA		
For Lieutenant Governor PAUL P. YODER	For Lieutenant Governor PAUL H. HERBERT	For Lieutenant Governor OLIE AYKINS		
For Secretary of State WILLIAM J. KENNEDY	For Secretary of State EARL GRIFFITH			
For Auditor of State JOSEPH T. FERGUSON	For Auditor of State JOSEPH T. TRACY			
For Treasurer of State CLARENCE M. EVERLEY	For Treasurer of State HARRY S. DAY			
For Attorney General HERBERT S. DUFFY	For Attorney General THOMAS J. HERBERT			
For Congressman at Large (Full Term) (Vote for not more than one)	For Congressman at Large (Full Term) (Vote for not more than one)	For Congressman at Large (Full Term) (Vote for not more than one)		
JOHN MacWEENEY	GEORGE H. BENDER	WILLIAM C. SANDBERG		
HAROLD G. MOSIER	L. L. MARSHALL			
For Congressman at Large (Unexpired Term) (Vote for not more than one)	For Congressman at Large (Unexpired Term) (Vote for not more than one)			
DANIEL A. REINHART	DEMMON OLIVER			
For Representative to Congress ARTHUR P. LAMNECK	For Representative to Congress GRAFF P. WARD			
For State Senator	For State Senator			
FRANCIS P. HOWARD	EVERT C. ADDISON			
GEORGE M. MORRIS	FRED W. PORTLE			
For Representative to General Assembly (Vote for not more than six)	For Representative to General Assembly (Vote for not more than six)			For Representative to General Assembly (Vote for not more than six)
ROBERT J. BEATTY	CHARLES S. BERT			HUE H. CRAFT
JAMES P. COADY	RAY E. HOLMES			DAVID S. THOMPSON JR.
A. ALLEN HOLMES	GEORGE S. MARSHALL			
CHARLES E. JUSTUS	JOHN M. MATTHIAS			
GEORGE F. KETTERER	HERBY H. METCALF			
JACOB P. MYERS	JOSEPH P. SAILER			
For County Commissioner (Vote for not more than two)	For County Commissioner (Vote for not more than two)			
CHAS. W. SCHNEIDER	HARRY T. PAUL			
GEORGE G. TRABUE	HARRY T. TIDOW			
For Prosecuting Attorney RALPH J. BARTLETT	For Prosecuting Attorney ROSCOE R. WALCUTT			
For Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas J. ARTHUR SIDER	For Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas CHARLES E. KIRK			
For Sheriff JACOB E. SARTORIUS	For Sheriff ROSS E. ARMSTRONG			
For County Auditor (Unexpired Term)	For County Auditor (Unexpired Term)			
NEWTON ARTHUR THATCHER	ROBERT H. HOFFMAN			
For County Recorder RAYMOND E. SCHAEFER	For County Recorder P. LAUDERBAUGH			
For County Treasurer V. GLENN SMITH	For County Treasurer HENRY FRANK			
For County Engineer ALLAN J. BLAIR	For County Engineer CURTIS C. LATTIMER			
For Coroner EDWARD E. SMITH	For Coroner JOSEPH A. MURPHY			

This is the form of ballot used in the general election of 1936 in Franklin County. Note that the voter could vote a straight party ticket by placing an "X" in one of the circles at the top of the ballot. This form of ballot is still in use in many states.

candidate is not listed first on all the ballots. To vote on this ballot, the voter must read each name and mark an X beside the name of each person for whom he wishes to vote.

The evolution of the ballot has been a long process. From those Greek shells and the wooden ballots of the Romans, we have progressed to the modern secret ballot. It should never be taken for granted.

The Ballot Today

When a person goes into a polling place and is given a ballot he or she is not getting a mere piece of paper; it is a carefully prepared instrument of democracy, the product of a long history. Although paper ballots as described here are no longer used in Ohio except as absentee ballots in some counties, the regulations covering them set the standard for all voting methods and demonstrate the safeguards to protect the secrecy of the vote and the integrity of the election. Let us examine a ballot.

In the first place, consider the paper. A ballot cannot be printed on just any paper. The law specifies a particular weight and grade of paper, heavy enough so that the marks on it will not show through when the ballot is folded. Secondly notice the printing. The size and style of type are specified by law. The type must be large enough so that anyone can read it. The law also requires that each candidate's name be printed in the same type, so that no one candidate's name will stand out from the rest. Everyone should have the same fair chance to attract the attention of the voters.

When the ballots come from the printers they are bound in booklets. At the top are two stubs. The stub stapled to the booklet is called Stub B. The lower stub is Stub A. Each stub carries the same number, the serial number of that ballot, and of course no two ballots have the same number. What is the purpose of these stubs? Their purpose is to insure that the voter marks and deposits only the ballot given him by the election officials and not a forged ballot he brought in with him. Before he is given his ballot, the stub number is written beside his name in the poll book. The ballot is torn out of the booklet in which it was bound, leaving Stub B in the booklet. The voter takes the ballot with Stub A still on it into the booth and marks it. He folds it so that Stub A is left showing. When he comes to the ballot box, the judge reads aloud the number on Stub A. If that number corresponds to the number written by the voter's name in the poll book, it proves he is returning the same ballot he was given. The judge then tears off Stub A and puts it in a separate stub box. He puts the ballot, now no longer carrying a stub and so no longer identifiable from other ballots, in the ballot box. Thus the stubs have insured that the voter marked his own ballot and did not give the judge a marked ballot he brought in from outside.

The stubs have another purpose. After the election the poll workers must account for every ballot they were given. The number of ballots in the ballot box plus the number in the special box for spoiled ballots must equal the number torn from the booklet. If a particular polling place was issued ballots numbered 1000 through 1499, and if 205 ballots were marked and put in the ballot box and 14 ballots were spoiled and returned by the voters for new ones, then there must be 280 ballots left in the booklet. Ballots numbered 1219 through 1499 should remain in the booklet. An immediate and accurate check on the ballots is thus maintained.

Next, notice that Ohio uses an office-column ballot. As already pointed out, Ohio voters amended the constitution in 1949 to require this type of ballot. On an Ohio ballot the offices are listed in order, and the names of the candidates appear under each office. The old type of ballot, still in use in many states, is a party-column ballot. That is to say, the candidates are not listed by office but by party. On a party-column ballot the voter can vote a "straight ticket" by putting a mark in a circle at the head of a party column; a mark in that circle is a vote for every candidate of that party. In Ohio the voter must put a mark beside the name of each candidate for whom he wants to vote.

The names of the candidates are rotated on the ballot. That is to say, not all the ballots are printed the same; they are varied so that no one name appears either first or last on all the ballots. For example, if John Doe and Richard Roe are candidates for Mayor, the name of Doe will be printed first on half the ballots, and Roe will be first on the other half. If there should be fifteen candidates for one office, it would be necessary to print fifteen rotations. It is thought that being first on the ballot gives an advantage, especially in a crowded primary, and this is the reason for the rotation system.

The party designation, if any, appears beneath the name of the candidate, and in smaller type.

There are several types of ballots. At a primary election each party has its own ballot. The name of the party is at the top, and since all candidates must be members of that party there is no party designation beneath their names. Judges are elected on a nonpartisan ballot, no matter how they secured their nominations, so the nonpartisan judicial ballot is a special separate ballot carrying no party designations. Of course there are also the questions and issues ballots, having no candidates' names but only spaces to vote yes and no, for and against, etc. on the various issues.

Besides paper ballots. Ohioans also vote on a variety of voting machines and marking devices. Some of their ballots are counted by mechanized tabulating equipment, and some of the election returns are compiled by electronic calculators. We will describe these in the next section.

Other Voting Systems

Most Ohio voters do not vote on ballots at all but cast their votes on one or another type of voting machine or mark special ballots that are counted by machine.

Before it can be used in Ohio elections, any voting machine, marking device, or tabulating equipment must be approved by the Secretary of State. The law provides for him to appoint a board of experts to examine such equipment and report to him as to whether it is technically sound and whether it will comply with the requirements of Ohio law.

To meet the requirements of Ohio law voting equipment must be so made that it will permit any type of vote that could be cast on a paper ballot, including write-in, and it must be accurate and secure against tampering. It must also preserve perfect secrecy for the voter. Every type of equipment has been carefully developed and thoroughly examined before it is used in Ohio.

A voting machine is a mechanical or electronic machine in the nature of an adding machine or calculator. The voter goes behind a curtain at the front of the machine, so that no one can see how he or she votes. He or she casts a vote by pulling levers or switches beside the names of the candidates for whom he or she wants to vote. He or she can cast a write-in vote by opening a panel and writing on the paper roll behind the panel. When finished voting, he or she pulls a lever or presses a button that records votes on dials inside the machine, moves the paper roll forward, and clears the machine for the next voter. At the end of the day the machine is unlocked and opened, and the total number of votes cast for each candidate will be seen on the numbered dials. The paper roll is removed and the write-in votes can be counted. Direct recording electronic machines mimic this procedure electronically, using computer technology.

Ohio also authorizes the use of punch card marking devices. These systems employ an electronic computer to count the ballots. One type uses a single card with numbered squares that are punched out while aligned with candidates names listed in a separate booklet. The other type prints the candidates names on the card, and a hole is punched beside the name. Several cards may be used to accommodate all the candidates for multiple offices. The cards are deposited in a ballot box the same as any other ballots. When the polls close, the poll workers sort the cards and take them to the counting center set up by the Board of Elections. There the punched cards are fed into an electronic computer that counts the votes and adds the totals.

Another authorized method of voting is the use of paper ballots counted by automatic tabulating equipment. The ballots used are very similar to ordinary paper ballots, except that they are ordinarily much larger so that all offices and issues can be printed on one sheet. The voter marks them in an ordinary voting booth. He or she uses a special pencil to fill in an oval or complete an arrow beside the candidate name.

The marked ballots are put in ballot boxes in the ordinary way, and when the polls close the ballots are taken to a counting center. There they are counted by a machine that scans them optically and senses the marks made by the voter, then counts them on a computer and produces the results.

The most recent addition to methods of voting is the direct-recording electronic vote tabulator. The voter presses buttons beside candidate names, then presses a button marked "vote" to record his or her votes. An electronic cassette that records the totals is removed at the end of the day and taken to a central computer, where all the precinct totals are compiled into final results.

Some of these systems are expensive, but they produce accurate election returns very quickly, and they are less susceptible to tampering than are paper ballots marked with a pencil and counted by hand. A number of corporations are working on new voting machines and tabulating equipment, and future years will probably see additional types of equipment in use.

ELECTIONS CALENDAR

OFFICES

Q. WHO DO WE ELECT EACH YEAR? I CAN'T REMEMBER ALL THE DATES AND OFFICES AND DEADLINES.

A. The Secretary of State puts out a Voter Information Guide every year with all this information. It is available free from the Secretary of State, any county Board of Elections, and many libraries.

In every even-numbered year, Ohioans elect:

All members of the U.S. Congress (2-year term)
All members of the Ohio House of Representatives (2-year term)
Half of the Members of the Ohio Senate (4-year term)
One-third of the State School Board (6-year term)
Two Justices of the Ohio Supreme Court (6-year term)
Court of Appeals Judges (6-year term)
Common Pleas Judges (6-year term)
County Judges (6-year term)

In some even-numbered years, Ohioans elect:

United States Senator (6-year term)
Chief Justice of Ohio Supreme Court (6-year term)

In even-numbered years divisible by four, Ohioans elect to 4-year terms:

United States President and Vice President
Most county officers
Two County Commissioners
  exception-Summit county elects:
    County Executive
    Four County Council Members
Prosecuting Attorney
Sheriff
Coroner
Treasurer
Recorder
Clerk of Courts
Engineer

In even-numbered years not divisible by four, Ohioans elect to four-year terms:

Governor and Lieutenant Governor
Secretary of State
Attorney General
Auditor of State
State Treasurer
County Auditor
One County Commissioner
  exception-Summit County elects:
    Three County Council Members

In all odd-numbered years, Ohioans elect:

Municipal Officers
  City and Village Mayors
  Members of Council
  Other officers depending on municipal charters
Township Trustees and Clerk
Local Boards of Education
Municipal Court Judges

DEADLINES

Primary Election

In even-numbered years, the Primary Elections are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in May.

In odd-numbered years, the date for Primary Elections varies among charter municipalities. For example, in Cleveland the nonpartisan primary election for Mayor is held 5 Tuesdays before the General Election.

General Election

General Elections are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November every year.

Special Elections

Issues may be on the ballot in Primary, General, or Special elections. A special election may be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in February or August.

Registration

Deadline for registering to vote is 30 days before an election.

Absentee Voting

For All Elections

Jan. 1 is the earliest date for members of the armed forces and overseas voters to request absentee ballots for that year's elections.

90 days before an election is the earliest date for civilians to request absentee ballots for that election.

35 days before an election absentee ballots are available for that election.

3 days before an election (that is, Saturday noon before a Tuesday election) is the last day the Board of Elections can accept applications for absentee ballots for that election.

Absentee ballots must be returned by election day. Overseas absentee ballots must be mailed by election day and must be returned by ten days after election day.

Election Day—Polls are open 6:30 a.m.—7:30 p.m.

VOTING PROCEDURES

Q. HOW DO I ACTUALLY VOTE? (I HAVE NEVER DONE IT, AND I DON'T WANT TO LOOK STUPID).

A. After you are registered, the Board of Elections will send you a card telling you where your polling place is. If you forget, call them and ask.

If you vote in person at your polling place, the pollworkers will tell you what to do. You tell them your name and address; they will show you where to sign the pollbook. Voting is your right and they are there to help you, not to intimidate you.

They are equipped to show you how to use the voting machine or punch card properly. Just ask. They are there to make sure you are able to vote a valid, secret ballot.

If you vote absentee, your ballot will come with detailed instructions. Read and follow them carefully.

SPECIAL QUESTIONS

Q. IF I REGISTER FOR THE DRAFT, CAN I REGISTER TO VOTE AT THE SAME TIME?

A. No, they are totally separate.

See the list on panel 2 of ways that you can register to vote.

Q. DO I HAVE TO VOTE ON ALL THE OFFICES AND ISSUES ON THE BALLOT?

A. No. You may vote for as few as you like. If you really only care about one candidate on the entire ballot, you may vote for that one person and leave the rest of the ballot blank.

Q. IF I REQUEST A PARTY BALLOT IN THE PRIMARY ELECTION, CAN I VOTE FOR CANDIDATES OF A DIFFERENT PARTY IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION?

A. Yes, you may vote for any candidates of your choice in November regardless of how you voted in the Primary. Your ballot is secret: no one will know how you vote.

Q. WILL I BE CALLED FOR JURY DUTY IF I REGISTER TO VOTE?

A. Some counties use the list of registered voters to select juries. Others use the list of drivers' licenses to select juries. The names on either list are chosen at random, so you may or may not be selected.

FIRST VOTER'S GUIDE TO OHIO REGISTRATION AND VOTING PROCEDURES

EVERYTHING YOU WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT VOTING BUT WERE EMBARRASSED TO ASK

as prepared by

SHERROD BROWN

Secretary of State

Polls open at 6:30 a.m. — close at 7:30 p.m.

VOTER REGISTRATION

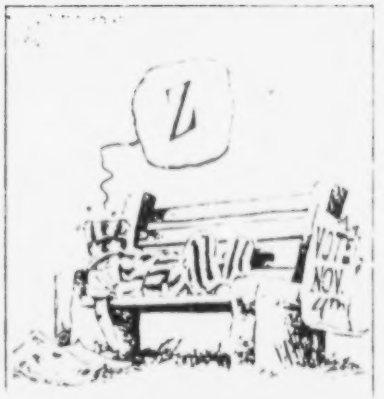
Q. WHAT ARE THE REQUIREMENTS I HAVE TO MEET TO BE ABLE TO REGISTER?

A. You must be a United States citizen, a resident of Ohio, and be 18 years old (but see the question below about 17-year-olds). You do not need to show any identification to register.

Q. I WON'T BE 18 UNTIL OCTOBER. WHEN CAN I REGISTER TO VOTE?

A. You may register and vote while you are only 17. If you will be 18 by the day after the November General Election, you may vote in the May Primary Election for candidates only. Therefore, you will want to get registered before the registration deadline in early April.

In other words, if you will be 18 in October, you can register in February and vote in May while you are still 17!



Q. HOW DO I REGISTER TO VOTE?

A. Fill out a registration form and mail it to the Secretary of State, or go to any of the places listed below.

Q. WHERE CAN I REGISTER TO VOTE OR CHANGE MY ADDRESS?

A. •Any county Board of Elections (even a different county from where you live).
- •The Secretary of State's office.
- •Any public high school or vocational school.
- •Any place where you can renew your driver's license.
- •Public libraries in many counties.
- •State government offices, county offices in some counties, city offices in some cities.
- •Some banks and businesses.

NOT the post office (you can register for the draft there, but you cannot register to vote there).
You can also register by mail. Just pick up a form from the places listed above or through a volunteer registrar. (They show up at malls, grocery stores, at your door, or any place they want, generally during the weeks just before a registration deadline).

Q. DO I HAVE TO CHOOSE A POLITICAL PARTY WHEN I REGISTER TO VOTE?

A. No, you won't even be asked your party. (There's not even a place to write in on the form!) The only time you have to declare a party is at a party Primary Election. Even at a Primary, you may vote the nonpartisan ballot without declaring a party. However, you will only get to vote on the ballot issues, not the party candidates.

Q. WILL I EVER HAVE TO RE-REGISTER?

A. You must always be registered at your current address, so even if you move within a county, you must notify in writing your county Board of Elections at least 30 days before an election. They will change your registration to your new address.

If you move to a different county, you must fill out a new registration for that county at least 30 days before an election.

If you change your name (for example, by marriage), notify the Board of Elections. If you haven't voted for 4 years, you will need to re-register.
In short, if you stay put, keep the same name, and vote fairly often—you will never have to re-register.

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

"Learning by doing" could be the motto of the activities in this section. Students often recall their required course in American government as one of the most boring classes that they had to sit through in high school. The structure and functions of our complex multi-level system of government seem remote, abstract, and overwhelming when presented chapter by chapter out of a textbook.

Yet there is a wide variety of ways to make government come alive to students. All of the programs described in this book have been used successfully in schools, some as long as 40 years ago, some as recently as last year. No teacher could possibly use all of them because they would be too time-consuming for both teachers and students. But there is something in the 20 options described in this book that would work in every school.

The activity options include several that pertain specifically to the election process itself: the Student Election, Kids Voting, the Ohio Student Mock Election. Others are applicable to elections and to the functions of government: Student Volunteers, Field Trips, Youth Programs. A final group concentrates on government functions: Municipal "Shadow" Government, Mock Trial, Mock Legislature, and Lobbying. One option—the Mock Convention—is so specific to presidential election years that it is included in that section with the discussions of delegate selection and the electoral college.

For some options, there is a good deal of information available from the organization that sponsors the program. In those instances, a name, address, and telephone number are provided so that teachers may request further information about programs that interest them.

For other options, there is little published information available. In those instances, an effort has been made to provide the materials that will be needed and to provide suggestions for producing others.

In all cases, names and addresses of Ohio teachers who have used a program are provided wherever they could be identified. It is hoped that this will encourage an informal network of teachers who call each other for suggestions about solving the problems that inevitably come up when any new program is introduced in the classroom and who will share materials with each other.

STUDENT ELECTION

BACKGROUND

Perhaps the best way to teach students about the election process and the importance of voting is to have them participate in an election campaign and to have them conduct an election. An election conducted in school can afford students opportunities to learn about campaigns and elections by actually doing all the jobs that are necessary to gain elected office or to make a smooth election happen.

This project is planned as a schoolwide election for student council officers, but it could be modified for any kind of election or mock election. It is planned as a real election so that students will see the connection between active participation in the electoral process and what happens as a result of elections. Therefore, whatever is decided in the election should have real effect on student lives. The student council officers should have authority to make some real decisions that affect student lives, just as the outcome of elections in the out-of-school world have a real effect on the lives of voters and nonvoters alike. Student council cannot affect the school budget, but it could be given authority for something such as writing the student dress code, helping determine rules for extracurricular participation, or disciplinary procedures.

The teacher will need to initiate this project, but almost all the work can and should be done by students. Every student should have some active role to play, even if this requires dividing duties into small segments. This will promote enthusiasm and provide learning experience in a very real simulation.

OBJECTIVES

Students will have opportunities to develop and extend understandings and skills related to the election process.
Students will engage in activities and procedures that closely approximate those actually used in Ohio elections.
Students will have opportunities to assume various roles in the election process.
Students will participate in an election that utilizes all procedures and roles related to an official public election.

PREPARATION

Because this election is designed to involve the entire school, the first step should be to obtain permission from the administration and set a date for the election. Prepare and present a draft timeline so you can explain what will take place when, and what time and assistance will be needed.

Contact your county board of elections to enlist their advice and assistance.

Keep the campaign itself short. Have the students in your classes assume as many of the reponsibilities as possible, but provide them with help and advice, including finding resource people to assist them.

The committees listed under Activities are suggested divisions of responsibilities. Each student undertaking each responsibility will probably need a committee to help. Feel free to rearrange, divide, combine, eliminate, or add to the items on the lists. Each committee should have a faculty or outside advisor to work with them and help them keep on schedule.

If the candidates will be drawn from the whole school, it might be well to have your classes take responsibility for the election and media committees; enlist other teachers (perhaps class advisors) to assist the candidate campaign committees.

Encourage the campaign committees to prepare all of their materials around a central theme and logo. Anyone on a committee can help anyone else, but one specific person should be responsible for each task. Set specific deadlines. Some groups will work as one committee on everything, some in several small groups, some as individuals. The aim is that every student is actively involved, learning about what these tasks involve and how they are dependent on each other.

The responsibilities outlined can be expanded to create as elaborate a project as wanted. For example, weekly assemblies could be scheduled featuring guest speakers such as media consultants, campaign managers, the director of the county board of elections, and candidates.

Whole areas can be eliminated to simplify the program. Skip the "TV" ads for candidates if videotaping equipment is not available. Choose candidates some other way and eliminate petitions. Ignore community television and radio if they will not be worth the effort.

ACTIVITIES

The activities for students are divided into three parallel tracks: campaign, election, and media. These activities all intermesh, with some taking place simultaneously and some that must be completed before the next can occur.

Nominations. Have each nominee fill out a nominating petition (see sample, p. 64) and obtain the signatures of the correct number of students. Explain exactly how the petitions must be done. Make it as simple or as detailed as you like; enforce it as loosely or as strictly as you prefer; the object is to familiarize students with the process of using petitions to get their names on the ballot and to show them that it is important to follow the rules carefully.

Registration. Announce the election to the school. Explain that only those who register to vote by the deadline will be allowed to vote on election day. Allow several days for registration before the deadline. Have the deadline at least several days before the election. Are you going to make provision for students who are absent to be able to register and/or to vote "absentee"?

Have convenient registration sites, such as homeroom, cafeteria, library. Use a simplified version of the Ohio voter registration form (see sample, p. 65).

Election results. The students who are counting the ballots should take the ballot boxes to a quiet place and count the votes immediately. Doublecheck the count. It is a good idea to tell the candidates the results first so they have an opportunity to get their joy or disappointment under control privately. Tell each winner to prepare a one-minute acceptance speech for a school assembly.

After the candidates have been informed, announce the results to the rest of the school over the public address system or in a bulletin to each class. Also announce an assembly to be held the next day. Post the totals outside the polling place on a sample ballot.

Inauguration. This is the official wrap-up of the election. The coordinating teacher for the election can be moderator. Following is a suggested agenda. The whole program should take less than half an hour.

Welcome—Principal

Introduction of Guest Speaker—Teacher-coordinator

Guest Speaker—One-paragraph speech (This could be a public official: mayor, council member, county board of elections member, state legislator, field representative of the Secretary of State.)

Presentations—Guest speaker presents Certificate of Election to each winner. Each winning candidate gives a one-minute acceptance speech.

Teacher Coordinator—thanks all students and advisors for their help. Adjourn.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES

The goal of this committee is to help the candidate get elected. Everyone helps everyone else to accomplish that goal.

Candidate
- Presents self in speeches and personally to win.
- Approves all materials and statements issued in his or her name.
- Works with committee members as time allows after other campaign responsibilities are fulfilled.
- Writes acceptance speech (if elected).

Campaign manager
- Works closely with candidate.
- Assigns reponsibilities and deadlines and makes sure deadlines are met.
- Supervises, coordinates, and assists all members of campaign.

Media director
- Works closely with manager to assure that "ads" and statements are in line with campaign theme.

Art director
- Designs and makes logo, ads, posters, leaflets, buttons—with assistance and in cooperation with the campaign committee.

Press secretary
- Writes press releases for school paper.
- Works closely with media director on writing speeches, leaflet, theme, etc.

Advance person
- Introduces candidate at rallies, class meetings, debate, etc.
- Arranges for microphones, lights, chairs, balloons, spontaneous demonstrations of support, prearranged questions, people to meet the candidate, etc., as needed.

Guest speaker host
- Contacts a candidate or campaign worker to speak to the committee, class, or assembly about how political campaigns are run.
- Briefs speaker, escorts speaker, introduces speaker, writes thank you note.

ELECTION COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES

The goal of this committee is to conduct a fair and efficient election. Everyone helps everyone else on the committee to achieve their goal. This committee will need to meet with someone from the county board of elections early in their preparations to know how to prepare their materials and to make arrangements for using voting equipment or designing ballots and procedures. The members of this committee should not take an active part in any candidate's campaign. They also serve as the committee to resolve any disputes about procedures or infractions of the rules.

Election director
- Assigns responsibilities and deadlines and makes sure deadlines are met.
- Supervises, coordinates, and assists all members of the committee.
- Works closely with campaign managers and media director to assure that all candidates and voters understand and follow the correct procedures.

Voter registration chairman
- Designs, produces, and distributes registration forms.
- Devises and publicizes registration times, sites, procedures, and deadline; trains registrars.
- Collects and prepares registrations for use at polling places and delivers them to polling place chairman.

Petitions and ballots chairman
- Designs, produces, and distributes candidate nominating petition forms.
- Devises and publicizes petition procedures and deadline.
- Designs and produces ballots or obtains voting equipment.
- Distributes ballots or equipment to polling place chairman.
- Supervises tabulating and reporting of votes.

Polling place chairman
- Selects, arranges for, and sets up polling places.
- Designs and produces signature books, instructions, and other supplies for each polling place.
- Collects voter registrations from registration chairman.
- Obtains ballots or voting equipment from petitions and ballots chairman.
- Recruits and trains polling place officials.
- Distributes supplies to and supervises polling places.
- Cleans up polling places and sees that ballots are returned to petitions and ballot chairman and/or equipment to proper location.

Voter education chairman
- Prepares and distributes information on registration and voting procedures.
- Works with school television director from the media committee to produce a videotape educational program on election procedures.

MEDIA COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES

The goal of this committee is to report on and stimulate interest in the campaign and the election both in the school and in the community. Everyone helps everyone else to accomplish this goal.

Media director
- Assigns responsibilities and deadlines and makes sure deadlines are met.
- Supervises, coordinates, and assists all members of the committee.
- Works closely with campaign managers and election director to assure full coverage of campaign and election.

School newspaper editor
- Collects information from campaign managers and election director about their activities.
- If there is a school newspaper, writes news releases or newspaper stories about the campaign and the election.
- If there is no school newspaper, serves as editor for a campaign/election newsletter.

School "radio" director
- Prepares and delivers regular announcements about the campaign and election for inclusion in the school announcements over the public address system, including preparations, upcoming events, and reports on progress and newsworthy happenings.

School "television" director
- Works directly with campaign media directors to videotape 30-second or 1-minute "television ads" for each candidate.
- Works directly with election director to videotape educational program on election procedures.
- Arranges for showing program and ads to all classes.

Community reporters
- The number of community reporters needed will depend on the number and types of media outlets available in the community. The positive publicity is good for the school; the community likes to know about what is happening in its schools; and the publicity about the election in the school reminds citizens to register and to vote. Community reporters host any guest speakers from their respective members of the media.

Community newspaper reporter
- Contacts local weekly newspaper and daily newspaper if appropriate.
- Prepares and delivers news releases about the campaign and the election.
- Escorts newspaper reporters who visit the school to report on the campaign and election.

Community radio reporter
- Contacts local radio stations.
- Prepares and delivers new releases about the campaign and election in cooperation with community newspaper reporter.

Community television reporter
- Contacts local TV station/s or nearby stations that cover the area.
- Prepares and delivers news releases about the campaign and the election in cooperation with the community newspaper reporter.
- Escorts television reporters who visit the school to report on the the campaign and election.

Polling director
- Designs an opinion poll in cooperation with campaign managers and the media committee.
- Directs polling of students and tabulation and analysis of results.
- Provides report on poll to school and community media reporters and to campaign managers.

MEASUREMENT

The written materials that are produced for the campaign and for the election offer many opportunities for evaluating student research and writing. The same is true for the wide variety of oral presentations and organizational activities required to conduct a campaign and an election.

FOLLOW-UP

Immediate. Discuss and evaluate the procedures followed in the campaign and the election. Have each committee and/or individual prepare a brief report on what they did, including suggestions to improve the process next time. Discuss the similarities to outside political campaigns, such as personality conflicts, serious differences of opinion, differences in people's abilities and sense of responsibility, and insufficient time to get everything done.

The days immediately following the election provide an important opportunity to explore and reinforce some ideas raised. It is important that there be real implementation of the election results. For example, the officers of student council who were elected should meet and begin to assume their duties.

The election itself provides a good reference for some questions to discuss with the class. What arguments convinced you? Which turned you off? Did the convincing/unconvincing arguments have any common characteristics? Did it matter *who* was saying it? If so, why? Does any of this apply to outside elections? How?

Discuss how group decisions affect our lives. This could lead in several directions, such as:
—the balancing of majority rule and minority rights
—the balance between doing what the individual thinks is best or right and doing what the group has decided
—the importance of making your voice heard in group decision-making
—the importance of learning the rules so you don't lose your voice on a technicality
—the need for group rules

Longer term. Several weeks after the election, look for opportunities to discuss with the class:

1. Were the things discussed in the campaign the ones that have turned out to be important? What can we learn from that?
2. Has the appropriate follow-up been done on the issues decided in the election? Have the candidates performed well? Have students been concerned constituents, being watchful that their opinions were heard? Should they?
3. Have circumstances changed that demanded different responses than were anticipated? Have elected representatives explained their actions?
4. Did the election make a difference? If so, how could you be more effective another time? If not, what changes would make a difference?
5. Discuss how these questions apply to outside elections.

RESOURCES

The local county board of elections can provide advice and assistance to make the election a realistic simulation of Ohio election procedures. Consult them early. They can also provide names and addresses of local elected officials and candidates.

County political party chairs are good resource persons themselves to talk about campaigns and elections; and they can suggest candidates who would be good speakers.

Newspaper, radio, and television reporters who cover political news can be good resource speakers on how the news media report on politics and elections.

Following are materials that may be useful for campaigns and elections.

NOMINATIONS

There are many ways to select which candidates will have their names on the ballot. A process that enables students to be part of the decision-making need not be complex. Let students nominate candidates orally, in writing, or by petition. Most candidates in Ohio get their names on the ballot by filing nominating petitions either with their county board of elections or with the Ohio Secretary of State (for statewide offices). On the following page is a simplified version of a nominating petition form.

NOMINATING PETITION

And Statement of Candidacy

To be filed with _____
(name of teacher)

not later than _____ a.m. / p.m. on _____.
(time) (date)

We, the undersigned, qualified electors of _____.
(name of school)

whose voting residence is in the class set opposite our names, hereby nominate _____

_____ as a candidate for election as _____

and certify said candidate is, in our opinion, well qualified for that position.

SIGNATURES	SCHOOL ADDRESS	DATE OF SIGNING
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

_____
(Signature of Circulator)

_____
(School Address: class number or teacher's name)

VOTER REGISTRATION FORM

Last Name First Name Middle Name

Address (Street or Class)

City or School

What is your birthdate? Month Day Year

I declare under penalty of election falsification that the statements herein contained are true to the best of my knowledge and belief; and that I am qualified to vote.

Signature of Applicant Date

Example of an actual mail-in registration form used in Ohio. Ask your county board of elections for a copy of the form used in your county.

PLEASE PRINT **Authorized by Secretary of State SHERROD BROWN 1984**

Name (Last) (First) (Middle Initial)				County of your residence
Residence (Home) Address (Number and Street)		(Apt.)	City or Post Office	Zip Code
Additional Rural or Mailing Address (if necessary)				
Birthdate	Birthplace (City, State, Country)	Native Born Citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No	If Naturalized give Date and Name of Court	**FOR BOARD USE ONLY** If "x" appears in box, current address is on back of card ☐
Furnishing your Social Security and phone number is voluntary; their confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. ORC 3503.14 They enable the Board of Elections to verify your registration.		Social Security Number	Phone No.	
Previous registration Address (Number and Street)		City or Post Office	County / State	City, Village, Twp.
CHANGE OF NAME ONLY	Prior Legal Name	Former Signature		Ward
☐ New Registration (I am not now registered to vote in Ohio or I have moved to a different county)	I declare under penalty of election falsification that the statements herein contained are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that I am legally qualified to vote			Precinct
☐ Change of Address (I moved/will move within the same county on ____ Date)	**Signature of Applicant**		Date	
☐ Change of Name	Signature of Registrar (if any)		Date	School Dist.

THE PENALTY FOR ELECTION FALSIFICATION IS IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN 6 MONTHS, OR A FINE OF $1,000, OR BOTH

SEC 4010

CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

Posters.

Effective posters are usually simple and striking, not cluttered with a lot of words and details. Before making oversize posters on posterboard, design smaller drafts on scratch paper.

Buttons.

Students can make their own campaign buttons by drawing them on cardboard, then cutting them out and using loops of masking tape to attach them to their shirts. Students could also make badges or paper ribbons with slogans reminding others to register to vote.

Following are some buttons developed by different states.* These can be photocopied, colored, and glued to cardboard. Or use a blank to design original ones.

Slogans.

Students can develop their own campaign slogans. Below are some ideas for get-out-the-vote slogans to get you started.

I Voted! Did You?
Watch out — I Vote!
Rock the Boat — Vote!
Your Vote is Your Voice
If You Don't Vote, Don't Squawk

*Including Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Kansas City, Missouri.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

THINGS TO REMEMBER:

1. Always be a smiling candidate.
2. Always be considerate and sincere.
3. Meet your voters and make sure they know your name.
   A. Shake their hands and introduce yourself.
   B.

C.

D. Talk to them about what you plan to do.
"I am interested in having a .....in this school and will try my hardest to see that it is done."

E.

MAKE POSTERS OR SIGNS AND HOLD THEM WHEREVER THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE.

F. Take your sign or poster to lunch and make a speech in front of some people.
   1. Get their attention with a bell or music or noisemaker.
   2. Stand on a box or chair that will not tip.
   3. Give a prepared speech to the group of students standing there.
   4. Get your campaign chairman and some supporters to stand in front of you so you will have some audience.
   5. Have your supporters pass out buttons or cards to those who are standing there.

G. Place your poster in the lunchroom and library. Ask the adult in charge if you may put it up. Bring your own thumb tacks.

H.

DURING THE LUNCH HOUR CARRY YOUR SIGN OR PLACE A STRING SIGN ON YOU...

4. Do not be afraid to ask your teacher for advice or help if you are not sure of what to do.

From *School Elections Handbook*, prepared by Office of the Lieutenant Governor, Voter Education Section, State Capitol, Honolulu, HI 96813, 1979, pp. 22-26.

TIPS FOR MAKING... SPEECHES

1. BE SURE TO MENTION YOUR NAME, OFFICE, GRADE AND ROOM NUMBER.
2. SAY WHY YOU WANT TO BE AN OFFICER.
3. SAY WHY YOU ARE QUALIFIED FOR THE OFFICE.
4. SAY SOMETHING "CATCHY" SO THEY WILL REMEMBER YOUR NAME.
5. LIMIT YOUR SPEECH TO TWO MINUTES OR LESS. MAKE SURE IT IS SHORT AND CONCISE.
6. BE SURE TO MEMORIZE YOUR SPEECH.
7. PRACTICE YOUR SPEECH IN FRONT OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE. ASK YOUR TEACHER IF YOU MAY PRACTICE IT IN FRONT OF YOUR CLASS.

BE CREATIVE:

TIPS FOR MAKING... POSTERS

PRINT YOUR NAME CLEARLY AND MAKE IT LARGE ENOUGH TO BE SEEN FROM A DISTANCE...

MAKE IT ATTRACTIVE. USE "CATCHY" COLORS.

From *School Elections Handbook*, prepared by Office of the Lieutenant Governor, Voter Education Section, State Capitol, Honolulu, HI 96813, 1979, pp. 22-26.

DEBATE

One student should serve as moderator of the debate. Decide the rules ahead of time. Give them in writing to the candidates. The agenda could be:

3 minutes for moderator to explain the rules to the audience
3 minutes to each candidate for opening statements
1 minute to each candidate to answer
1 minute rebuttals
5-10 minutes for candidates to ask each other questions
5-10 minutes for audience to ask candidates questions
1 minute to each candidate for closing statements

CONDUCTING A POLL

Once the survey questions are decided, students will want some way to identify the kinds of persons responding to the survey. Emphasize that people do not have to give their names to answer a survey. Make enough copies of the survey so that a separate form can be filled out for or by each respondent. Students administer the survey, asking the respondents to either agree or disagree with each statement. No individual should be surveyed more than once.

Coding the survey results. A respondent who agrees with statement 2 and 4, and who disagrees with statements 1, 3, and 5 opposes candy in school. A respondent who agrees with statements 1, 3, and 5, and who disagrees with statements 2 and 4 approves candy in school.

Have the students tally and process the results. Several breakdowns are possible. (This can be incorporated into a math lesson on percentages.)

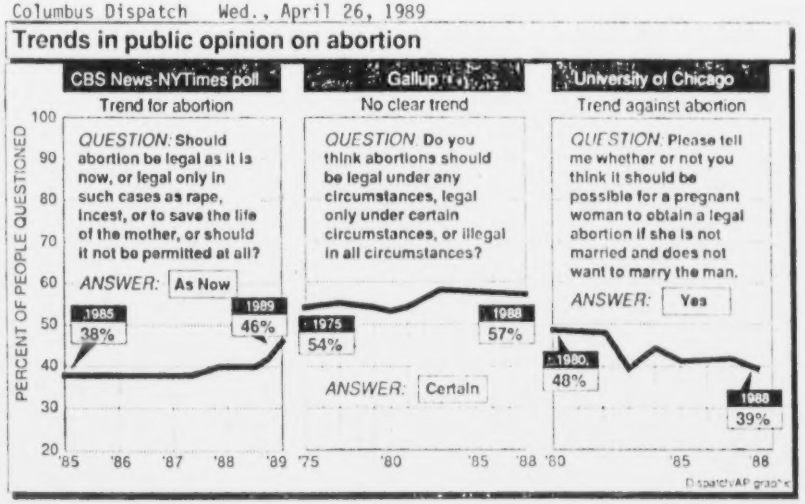
How did 9th graders respond?
How did 10th graders respond?
How did 11th graders respond?
How did 12th graders respond?
How did female students respond?
How did male students respond?
How did all those surveyed respond?

The results of the survey could be publicized via a class or school newspaper, or a press release to the local newspaper.

CAUTION: There is an old saying that you can prove anything with statistics. Polling is not an exact science even in the hands of experts. Small differences in the phrasing of a question, even in the tone of voice it is asked, can change the results of the poll.

Here is an example that clearly shows how you can get different results depending on how the question is asked. (Be careful when using this so the class does not get sidetracked onto an unproductive debate about the emotional issue of abortion. It is not a subject that lends itself to dispassionate discussion!)

Columbus Dispatch Wed., April 26, 1989


Trends in public opinion on abortion
CBS News-NYTimes poll
Trend for abortion
QUESTION: Should abortion be legal as it is now, or legal only in such cases as rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother, or should it not be permitted at all?
ANSWER: As Now
1985 38%
1989 46%
Gallup
No clear trend
QUESTION: Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?
1975 54%
1988 57%
ANSWER: Certain
University of Chicago
Trend against abortion
QUESTION: Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if she is not married and does not want to marry the man.
ANSWER: Yes
1980 48%
1988 39%
PERCENT OF PEOPLE QUESTIONED
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
'85 '86 '87 '88 '89 '75 '80 '85 '88 '80 '85 '88
Dispatch/AP graphics

SAMPLE SURVEY

Issue: SHOULD CANDY BE SOLD IN VENDING MACHINES IN THE SCHOOL?

Thank you for agreeing to answer this survey. As part of our election, we are conducting a survey on the issue of candy sales in school. We are interested in other people's opinions on this issue.

Part I - Personal Information

Instructions:
Place a check mark next to the correct answer in each column.

I am:

In grade

- ☐ 9
- ☐ 10
- ☐ 11
- ☐ 12

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male

Part II - Survey

Instruction:
Check the word "agree" or the word "disagree" after each statement. Choose the one that best represents your feelings about the statement.

1. Students should be free to buy whatever they want.
   ☐ agree ☐ disagree

2. The school has the responsibility to encourage good nutrition.
   ☐ agree ☐ disagree

3. Students will learn self-discipline better if given responsibility to decide whether or not to buy candy.
   ☐ agree ☐ disagree

4. Schools should not put temptation before students.
   ☐ agree ☐ disagree

5. Candy is so widely available that having it at school won't hurt.
   ☐ agree ☐ disagree

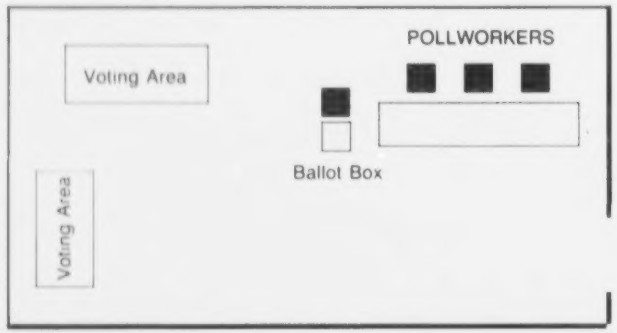
SETTING UP THE POLLING PLACE

Decide the locations of the voting areas. Stress the importance of voting in secret. Also point out the importance of placing the ballot box where it can be seen by everyone at all times.

Have the committee make the signs to be used in and around the polling place on election day, such as VOTE HERE, POLLING PLACE, and BALLOT BOX.

Encourage the students to discuss why someone may want to learn how another person voted. Point out how the uniform system of marking the ballot helps protect the secrecy of the ballot.

Polling place arrangement. The voting area should be isolated to ensure the secrecy of the vote. The stations or booths for voting should face separate walls, if possible, or be well screened from each other.



Equipment. Be sure you have plenty of ballots or voting equipment. Make sure everyone understands the procedure exactly. Provide plenty of time for the actual voting. If your county board of elections has time, they may let you use some of their equipment, particularly if voting machines or devices are stored in your school. If not, perhaps they can help you design your ballots.

Provide several voting booths that will provide privacy to the voter. They need a smooth steady surface for writing and side panels or curtains to assure privacy. A back curtain is a good idea but not necessary for paper ballots because the voter's back serves as a screen. Provide pens for marking ballots.

POLL BOOK

Each voter is to sign his or her name as it is signed on the voter registration form, then fill in school address and date. The polling place officials will compare the signature to the one on the registration form and mark on the form that the person has been given a ballot.

SIGNATURE	SCHOOL ADDRESS	DATE
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

As Judge of election, I witnessed the affixing of each of the _____ signatures above.

_____

(Signature of Polling Place Official)

ELECTION DAY PROCEDURES

When voters in Ohio go to their polling place to vote on election day, they find people ready to help them. These people are the pollworkers. One pollworker asks for the voter's name and address. This assures that everyone votes in the right precinct. If a voter does not know how to mark the ballot, the pollworkers will show him. Pollworkers cannot tell the voter which candidate to choose.

After the voter is done, the pollworkers count the votes. Pollworkers work a long day. In Ohio elections, the polls open at 6:30 a.m. and close at 7:30 p.m.. The votes cannot be counted until after the polls are closed.

When will the polls open for our election?
What jobs need to be done for our election?

In every election, it is the duty of the pollworkers in each polling place to ensure that every person who has the right to vote has an opportunity to vote, that no one is permitted to vote who does not have the right, that voters are able to cast their votes without interference, and that all votes are counted fairly.

Oath for Polling Place Officials

Below is a sample oath of office that can be administered to students working in an election. Prepare your own wording if you prefer.

I do solemnly swear that I will support the United States of America, the State of Ohio and its laws, and the rules for this election.

_____
Signature

Conducting the Election

1. At the given time, a pollworker announces that the polls are now open and shows the other pollworkers that the ballot box is empty.

2. One by one, each qualified voter requests a ballot from a judge of election. An effort should be made to ensure that only qualified students vote and that they vote only once.

3. The first official asks the voter's name and marks that name off the list of registered voters or marks on the registration form that that person voted, then hands the registration form to the second official for signature comparison; then returns form to book or box.

4. The second official shows the voter where to sign the pollbook or signature list; compares that signature to the signature on the registration form; then returns the registration form to the first official for re-filing.

5. The third official gives the voter a ballot (or ballot card or authority-to-vote slip) when there is a booth open for voting and instructs the voter to fold the ballot so no one can see how it is marked (or put the ballot card in the secrecy envelope).

6. The fourth official stays by the ballot box (or voting machine) to see that no one tampers with it. With paper or punch cards, this official deposits ballots in the ballot box and sees that no voter leaves without depositing a ballot. With voting machines, the official accepts authority-to-vote slips and sets the machine.

7. The voter marks the ballot in secret in the voting booth, folds it (or puts it in the secrecy envelope), and gives the voted ballot to the pollworker at the ballot box.

8. Voters should leave the polling place immediately after voting.

Closing the Polling Place

1. After all qualified voters have voted, or at a previously specified time, a pollworker announces that the polls are closed.

2. Two pollworkers open the ballot box, unfold the ballots, then read aloud the properly marked ballots.

3. As each vote is read aloud, a mark is put on the tally sheet after the candidate's name receiving the vote. Tally marks are grouped in sets of five for each counting.

These tally sheets serve as a record of the election and must be certified by each of the poll workers.

OFFICE	CANDIDATE	TALLIES 5	10	15	20	TOTAL VOTE
CLASS PRESIDENT	DOE	𝍸	𝍸	𝍸		11
	JONES	𝍸	𝍸	𝍸	//	17
	SMITH	𝍸	𝍸	𝍸	///	18

Although paper ballots are used in Ohio elections only for absent voter ballots, they may be the easiest to use in classroom elections. The instructions below are those used in Ohio to decide whether to count a vote on paper ballots.

In counting disputed ballots, the intent of voter is the governing factor. The following examples illustrate the application of this principle in a variety of situations.

✓	JOHN DOE
	EDWARD SMITH

This is valid vote for Doe. A check mark is an acceptable means of indicating the voter's choice, notwithstanding Section 3505.23 which indicates that an X mark should be used.

X	JOHN DOE
X	EDWARD SMITH

This vote is invalid if only one of the candidates is to be elected. It is impossible to determine the voter's choice. It does not, however, invalidate the entire ballot.

yes	JOHN DOE
	EDWARD SMITH

This is a valid vote for Doe. The voter has clearly indicated his choice and intention.

	JOHN DOE
no	EDWARD SMITH

This is a valid vote for Doe. Where the choice is between two candidates for office a vote against one of the candidates is the equivalent of a vote for the other.

X	JOHN DOE
	EDWARD SMITH

(Erased)

So long as the intention of the voter is clear the erasure will not defeat the intention nor should the ballot be discounted as a soiled ballot. This is a valid vote for Doe.

X	JOHN DOE
X	EDWARD SMITH

(Crossed out)

This is a valid vote for Doe. Irregular markings should not defeat a ballot where the intention of the voter can be ascertained with certainty.

	JOHN DOE X
	EDWARD SMITH

This is a valid vote for Doe.

X	JOHN DOE
	EDWARD SMITH

(Note that "X" crosses in Doe's box)

The fact that the X mark crosses in Doe's box indicates an intention on the part of the voter to cast his vote for Doe.

	JOHN DOE
	~~EDWARD SMITH~~

This is a valid vote for Doe.

X	~~JOHN DOE~~
	EDWARD SMITH

This is not a valid vote, as it is impossible to determine the intention of the voter. The ballot is not, however, invalidated

X	JOHN DOE C.M.P.
	EDWARD SMITH

This is an invalid ballot. It bears a clear identifying mark.

	JOHN DOE
	EDWARD SMITH
X	H. Jones

Again this is a valid vote for Jones if the person for whom the ballot was cast can be identified with certainty. Note that the addition of the initial H simplifies the problem of determining the identity of such person.

	JOHN DOE
X	EDWARD SMITH
	Jones

This vote cannot be counted, since it is not possible to determine the intention of the voter where only one of the three persons listed is to be elected.

Tax Levy Ballots

no	FOR THE TAX LEVY
	AGAINST THE TAX LEVY

This is a valid vote against the tax levy.

	FOR THE TAX LEVY
yes	AGAINST THE TAX LEVY

This is not a valid vote because the intent of the voter cannot be ascertained. Did he mean yes he was for or yes he was against?

	FOR THE TAX LEVY
no	AGAINST THE TAX LEVY

This is invalid. Again, what was the voter's intent?

no	FOR THE TAX LEVY
yes	AGAINST THE TAX LEVY

This is a valid vote against the tax levy. The intent is clear.

Ballots marked contrary to law may not be counted, but no ballot may be rejected for any technical error unless it is impossible to determine the voter's choice.

If two or more ballots are found folded together in the ballot box they must be considered fraudulent, and may not be counted. They must be marked "Fraudulent" and placed in an envelope labeled "Not counted" with the reasons listed. The envelope must be delivered to the Board of Elections with other uncounted ballots.

Tie Votes

There are many ways of resolving tie votes. In some states they hold a run-off election between the two candidates who tie. In Ohio, tie votes are decided by lot, that is, by chance. This can be done by flipping a coin, drawing straws, drawing from a hat—whatever means the candidates approve. A neutral third person supervises the drawing or flips the coin so it is fair.

How would you decide a tie? What are the advantages and disadvantages of flipping a coin, of holding a run-off election, of establishing some other tie-breaker ahead of time (such as picking the older, the one who filed petitions first, the one who submitted the most signatures, and so forth)?

STATE OF OHIO

Certificate of Election

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, in the election held at

_____

on the _____ day of _____, A.D. 19____,

_____

was duly elected to the school office of

_____

and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of such office.

In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand.

_____

SHERROD BROWN
Secretary of State

KIDS VOTING

BACKGROUND

"Kids Voting" is an Arizona program designed to boost voter participation among adults and instill lifelong voting habits in school-age children. It was piloted in the Phoenix metropolitan area during the 1988 general election. Sponsors plan for the program to be implemented statewide in 1990 and, ultimately, nationwide.

The program features specially designed curricula tailored for grades 3 through 12 and culminates with children accompanying their parents to the polls on election day to cast their own ballots in a simulated election.

Kids Voting was piloted in 65 precincts of six school districts within Metropolitan Phoenix for the 1988 general election. Over 30,000 students in grades 3-12 participated in the program, which included detailed courses in voter education and the ability of all participating students to vote with their parents at the polls.

In the pilot program, students in grades 9-12 were allowed to vote in the simulated election without parents. Students who were 18 by election day were encouraged to register and vote in the "real" election.

The curriculum was designed by educators from the school districts to teach children, at appropriate developmental levels, American political procedures and methods of analyzing candidates and issues. Private monies and generous volunteer support enabled the program to be implemented. The program received a $30,000 grant from Valley National Bank and a $10,000 grant from Cox Arizona Publications to underwrite the pilot program in 1988 and administration for 1989. More than 550 volunteers were utilized for the implementation of the pilot.

OBJECTIVES

Educate students about the rights and responsibilities of citizens to create lifetime voters for tomorrow.

Increase voter turnout of their parents for current elections today.

PREPARATION

Write or call one of the resource persons and obtain further information about the program. The planning outline recommends an 18-month lead time, but this might be shortened for a smaller program encompassing only one school or a smaller school district. The time might also be shorter if their curriculum materials can be adopted with only minor adaptations.

ACTIVITIES

1. Implement curriculum.
2. Register students.
3. Have students vote.

MEASUREMENT

On November 8, 1988, 6,755 children accompanied their parents to the polls—while the parents voted, their children voted their own ballots in a simulated election.

RESOURCES

One of the Arizona founders of Kids Voting now lives in Ohio:
Max Jennings, Editor
Dayton Daily News, Fourth and Ludlow Sts., Dayton, OH 45402
513/225-2335

Materials and additional information may also be ordered directly from:
Marilyn Hawker, Director
Kids Voting, 604 West McKellips, Mesa, AZ 85201
602/969-5046

Among the materials they can provide are a background and history of the 1988 pilot project, a planning outline, a suggested division of responsibilities, and a list of available sample materials (for which there is a fee) including: curriculum, media kit, promotional package, public affairs kit, and sample parent/student information/registration packet.

OHIO STUDENT MOCK ELECTION

BACKGROUND

This mock election is a statewide effort to allow students in grades 9-12 an opportunity to actively participate in the political process by simulating an actual election in their home schools. In 1988, 312 schools in Ohio participated in the program sponsored nationally by the National Student/Parent Mock Election, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization. The principle behind the mock election process is student participation—developing the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

The mock election is intended to help students learn about the electoral process and their elected officials, and to learn how to make informed decisions, not only in the mock election, but throughout their lives.

Usually an experienced social studies teacher or social studies department chairperson is in charge of the school election. The school election procedures should follow the regular election as nearly as possible.

OBJECTIVES

Students will improve their skills about how to make informed decisions.
Students will learn more about the role of government.
Students will learn more about the structure of government.
Students will learn more about the political process.
Students will learn more about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

PREPARATION

Preparations for the mock election are of two types. One is preparing students for actual voting procedures. The other is instructing students about the offices to be filled and the issues to be decided.

A manual, "Citizenship Education: A Mock Election and Political Awareness Guide," is provided to assist teachers and other educators in their efforts to involve students in: 1) the role of government; 2) the structure of government; 3) the political process; and 4) the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

ACTIVITIES

Prior to actual national or state elections, or both, students vote on a mock ballot for candidates and issues of their choice. The tabulation of results from each school are then tallied and reported, at pre-arranged times, to a state election headquarters phone number.

Students working at the state headquarters tabulate election results for Ohio and call them to the national mock election headquarters. Returns are updated throughout the day and evening. Once results are compiled, reports are made to the media.

MEASUREMENT

The number of students who participated in the mock election.

FOLLOW-UP

The mock election state results are mailed to participating schools. Students will want to compare their school results to the state results and to the results of the regular election a few days later.

RESOURCES

Additional information may be obtained from:

Initiator of the 1988 mock election in Ohio and active participant for years.
Terry Pollack, Chairman, Social Studies Department
Shaker Heights High School
15911 Aldersyde Road
Shaker Heights, OH 44120 (216/921-1400)

Co-coordinator of the 1988 mock election in Ohio.
Prof. Mike Fuller
Teacher Education
302 E. McGuffey
Miami University,
Oxford, OH 45056 (513/529-2030)

Co-convenor of the 1988 mock election.
Kent Minor, Social Studies Consultant
Ohio Department of Education
65 South Front St., Room 1005
Columbus, OH 43266-0308 (614/466-2211)

President and founder of the national mock election program.
Gloria Kirshner, President
National Student/Parent Mock Election
P.O. Box 36883
Tucson, Arizona 85704 (800/523-5904)

STUDENT VOLUNTEERS

High school students sometimes feel they are never going to be allowed to participate on an equal footing with adults, but are condemned to an infinity of mock-this and mock-that in classroom settings. The political system is one part of the adult world that is chronically so short-handed that it does not care how old you are as long as you can do the job.

There are at least three areas where students can participate actively in the political system: campaigns, pollworkers, and government office interns.

Campaigns

There are never enough hands to do the work in a political campaign, especially a local campaign that does not attract the attention of a highly publicized presidential or gubernatorial campaign. The tasks are not usually very glamorous—lots of stuffing and addressing envelopes, distributing literature, running photocopy machines, looking up telephone numbers—but the need is real, and there is no better way to get to know how campaigns really work. They are also excellent opportunities to get to know candidates and political activists, to learn about interpersonal relations, and to meet new friends. It is exciting to be an insider, to read the speech before it is printed in the newspaper, to know the candidate's position on an issue before hearing about it on the 6:00 o'clock news.

Students need to know that they *can* work on campaigns. The authors of this book have worked on campaigns with students who were as young as junior high age. Older high school students are valued because they bring more skills (for example, typing or word processing) and more maturity and judgement (for example, answering telephones and being able to find the answers to questions).

Students probably need some help in making the initial contact with a campaign, especially if neither they nor their families have been involved in politics before. The teacher can help by finding out what campaigns are available and which ones the students find interesting, where the students should go and to whom they should talk to get involved in that campaign. Local campaigns will usually be the most receptive because they are most in need of volunteers. A phone call to the county board of elections after the filing deadline (75 days before the election) can elicit information about what candidates have filed petitions for mayor, member of council, township trustee or clerk, member of the board of education (all in odd-numbered yrs.), countywide offices, or member of the legislature (even-numbered yrs.). Local

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Teen can cast his first ballot for himself

FINDLAY (AP) — Marc Dukes wasn't old enough to vote last year, but this year will be different. Not only will he vote, but his name will be on the ballot as a candidate for City Council.

Dukes, 18, has filed petitions as an independent candidate for City Council to represent the 6th Ward in this Northwest Ohio city, even though he plans to go away to college.

Dukes, his parents and a teacher at Findlay High School say he is a serious candidate.

"I think I can help the 6th Ward of Findlay. Hopefully, I'll be able to show a lot of young people that they have just as much right to run as someone who's 45 or 60 years old," said Dukes, a senior.

Dukes will face first-term incumbent Bert Rayl, a Republican, in the November election. Rayl, 55, was unopposed in yesterday's primary. There were no Democratic candidates.

Rayl said he would handle his campaign as though he were running against an experienced opponent.

"I think it will be a fine experience for him, and for both of us," Rayl said yesterday.

"I'm looking forward to it. I'll probably treat it as a regular campaign."

Rayl was elected in November 1987. City Council terms are for two years.

Dukes plans to attend Miami University in Oxford in the fall and has talked with officials at the Soutnwest Ohio university about arranging a schedule to permit trips to Findlay for City Council business, should he be elected.

"I don't think coming back will be a problem," he said.

Under state law, Dukes could serve on the City Council and attend college elsewhere provided he maintains residency in Findlay.

Dan Matheny, Dukes' debate team coach at the high school, said Dukes showed an interest in politics and law early. Dukes has taken courses and participated in extracurricular activities to further that interest, Matheny said.

"He's the type of student who not only works for the grade, he's in there to learn," Matheny said. "He knows what he wants to accomplish. He's not just doing this as a lark."

In addition to three years on the high school debating team, Dukes has been involved in the school's mock court activities and is a National Honor Society member.

"I seriously think I can win," Dukes said. "But I'm not going to be heartbroken if I lose. I'm sure I'll gain experience with our political system, win or lose."

Dukes' mother, Barbara, said she and his father, Dennis, had supported their son in everything he has done.

"He realizes what he's getting into," Mrs. Dukes said. "This is not something frivolous on his part."

She said her son had been interested in politics and issues since he was a child and had subscribed to news magazines since he was 10.

--Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 3, 1989

or county levy campaigns also have to file with the board of elections—it should not be difficult to find out who the local leaders are in a campaign for or against any issue that will be on the ballot.

If students are too intimidated to make the first contact with a campaign on which they would like to work, the teacher could call and ask if the campaign would like one or more student volunteers.

There are a few characteristics that are expected of all volunteers, whether student or not, and student volunteers should be made aware of them.

Dependability. It is absolutely essential that you be dependable. Do not promise to do more than you can do. If you promise to be at campaign headquarters every Saturday from 9:00 AM to 2:00 PM, you must be there *every* week, on time, and stay until 2:00. If you cannot show up or be on time or must leave early, you must notify the person in charge. If you promise to distribute literature to every house in two precincts this weekend, you must do it, even if it rains or your best friend wants you to go to a movie. Otherwise, do not promise. The campaign wants results, not excuses.

Attitude. Volunteers do not start out in glamorous jobs. You have to "pay your dues" by doing whatever is asked of you, and doing it cheerfully, competently, and as quickly as possible. "This isn't part of my job" is not an acceptable attitude. If something needs to be done and you are asked to do it, do it! There is usually plenty of chit-chat in a campaign office, but keep in mind that there is work to be done too.

Skills. Let your campaign know of any skills you have that may be useful. Can you organize files or keep them up to date? Can you type, use a word processor, or a computer? Do you have a driver's license? Can you run a photocopy machine? A mimeograph? Can you cut a stencil? Do you have any talent or experience in art or layout of publications (maybe you worked on the yearbook)?

Don't get upset if they don't ask you to be in charge of designing the campaign literature. Most of what needs to be done is repetitive and noncreative—but you are working for a candidate or issue that is important, and all the pieces fit together to make a campaign that works. And you are learning more than you may realize about the inner working of politics.

Effective Student Volunteers

An outstanding success story that demonstrates dramatically how effective students can be as campaign volunteers is the Maple Heights, Ohio school levy.

After several school levies had been defeated, the students at Maple Heights Senior High School organized and carried out a successful levy campaign with minimal assistance. The students planned the campaign, raised money, designed and distributed literature, and dealt with the news media.

Subsequently, they worked with several other school systems that conducted successful campaigns.

For more information, write or call George Belden, Maple Heights Senior High School, 5500 Clement Drive, Maple Heights, Ohio 44137-2691, telephone 216/587-3200.

Pollworkers

Most counties suffer from a chronic shortage of pollworkers because the pool of housewives from which they used to draw has shrunk dramatically in recent years. A number of counties have recruited high school seniors to be pollworkers and have been very pleased with the result.

If you have students who would like to work as pollworkers, there are some specific things that you (and they) should know and that you can do to help them.

In order to be pollworkers, students must be eligible to vote in the election at hand. That means they must be registered to vote. Any Ohio resident who is a U.S. citizen, 18 years old by the day of the election, and who registered to vote at least 30 days before the election may be hired by the board of elections to be a pollworker.

Age. Students who will actually be 18 by the day an election is held may work at any such election. Students who are still 17 on the day of a primary election but who will be 18 by the next general election may work at that primary. For example, a student whose birthday is in October could work at the May primary while still 17; but a student whose birthday is in late November could not work at the primary or the November general election while still 17 but would have to wait until next year.

Party Affiliation. Every pollworker must declare a party affiliation, to assure there will be an equal number of Democrats and Republicans at each polling place. If the election is a nonpartisan primary, a special, or a general election, this can be done by a simple statement of party preference (Democrat or Republican). If the election is a partisan primary, party affiliation can be accomplished in either of two ways: 1. request either a Democrat or a Republican absentee ballot before the primary (all pollworkers are allowed to vote absentee)—the request is a declaration of affiliation with the party whose ballot is requested; or 2. fill out and sign a "Statement of Person Challenged as to Party Affiliation" (see sample).

The procedure for helping students become pollworkers is simple.

1. Go to your county board of elections and ask if they need pollworkers and would be interested in training students for these openings.

2. Check with the high school administration to be sure they would allow students to miss a day of school to work at the polls on election day.

3. Recruit eligible students, explaining to them that they will have to work from 6:00 AM until about 8:00 PM , maybe much later, on election day; they must attend a training class that the board of elections gives for all new pollworkers; they will have to vote by absentee ballot before election day and/or sign an affidavit or statement of party affiliation; and they will earn up to $70.00 for working at the polls.

4. Sign up the students who volunteer. You will need full name and address for each volunteer (for checking that they are registered to vote) or a completed voter registration form from each. You also need each volunteer's political party preference so the board of elections can balance the political affiliation of the pollworkers at each polling place.

5. Give the list of volunteers to the county board of elections at least a month before the election. The board needs sufficient time to check or process the voter registrations, notify and train the students, and assign them to precinct voting locations.

After election day, ask the students to tell the rest of the class about their experience. What did you do? Were you busy? When? Was it complicated or simple? Who votes—old, young, men, working people, housewives, retired people? When does each group vote? Did any funny or strange things happen?

Form No. [illegible] Prescribed by the Secretary of State (1-82)

VOTE OHIO

STATEMENT OF PERSON CHALLENGED AS TO PARTY AFFILIATION
(Primary)
Revised Code Sections 3513.19, .20

At the Primary Election held on the _____ day of _____, 19___.

I, _____ (Name of Elector), of _____ (Complete Residence Address)
hereby state, under penalty of election falsification, that I desire to be affiliated with and that I support the principles of the _____ Party and wish to cast a ballot in the party's primary election this year.

X _____
(Signature of Person Challenged)

_____
(Address)

_____
(City and Zip)

THE PENALTY FOR ELECTION FALSIFICATION IS IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS OR A FINE OF NOT MORE THAN $1,000 OR BOTH

We, the undersigned precinct officials hereby _____ (enter here "accept" or "reject") the vote of the above named elector.

Precinct _____

_____
Presiding Judge

_____
Precinct Official

_____
Precinct Official

_____
Precinct Official

Interns

Increasing numbers of government offices are offering intern programs for students. Most of these are offered in the summer and are geared toward college students, though some accept students who have just graduated from high school or are in their senior year of high school; and some are delighted to have interns during the school year if students can arrange their class schedules so they are free at 2:00 or 3:00 every afternoon.

While some intern positions are paid, most are unpaid volunteer positions. Some are highly structured, with training programs and periodic evaluations; most are informal, with interns helping out with whatever tasks need to be done. All give an opportunity for students to learn about government from the inside. The most fertile area for high school interns is probably in city or village councils or city or county administrative offices. The administrative officers are often understaffed and are delighted with an offer of help with filing, typing, answering the phone, and follow-up on citizen complaints. Members of council are usually part time and are juggling their council responsibilities along with a job and family. They usually have little or no staff to help them, and they are often amazed and delighted when someone offers a few hours a day or week to help them with their duties.

The way to find out if your community offers any of these opportunities is to ask. If there is no internship program (which is very likely), suggest they start one. Point out the advantages of having free help while offering an excellent educational experience to students.

The same attributes described in the discussion of campaign volunteers are equally (or more) important for student interns—dependability, attitude, and skills. Many a job opportunity has resulted from a successful internship.

FIELD TRIPS

One of the reasons students think government is so uninteresting is that it all seems very abstract and distant. One way to make it concrete and immediate is to arrange for them to see some government offices, to meet some of the people who work in those offices, and to have an opportunity to ask questions about what actually happens there.

If any field trip is to be more than a pleasant outing, some preparation is necessary. Call the office that the class will be visiting, explain what your class is studying, and ask if they have any printed materials that describe the duties of the office. Have the students read the general description in the government textbook of the duties of the appropriate offices. Further information is available in at least four sources:

Ohio Revised Code. A compilation of all Ohio laws, available in public libraries. Look in the index under the name of the office and it will refer you to the sections dealing with that office.

The State of Ohio Official Roster of Federal, State, County Officers and Departmental Information (the "Federal Roster"). Published by the Ohio Secretary of State, available in public libraries. It contains brief descriptions of state offices and departments.

Know Your Ohio Government. May be ordered from League of Women Voters of Ohio, 65 South Fourth Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215, phone 614/469-1505, for $8.00 per copy. It provides information about all levels of local and state government in Ohio.

Ohio Government Digest. The official government reference book for Buckeye Girls' State, it provides detailed information about the duties of all local and state offices. Available from Mrs. Lester M. Merritt, Editor, 654 Wilson Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43205, phone 614/252-3548. There is a charge for the book.

Federal Offices

If a class is fortunate enough to be visiting Washington, D.C., call or write your member of Congress and ask if a tour of the Capitol can be arranged for the students. Your county board of elections can tell you the name of your member of Congress. You can get his or her office phone number by calling 202/224-3121. Write to The Honorable (name), House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515

Most Representatives to Congress and U.S. Senators also have offices in Ohio. See the county resource sheet for offices in or near your county.

State House Tours

During the course of a session of the General Assembly, many visitors from a legislator's district, such as school groups and civic groups, visit the State House. A legislator may arrange a guided tour of the State House for such groups by contacting the State House Guide located at the information desk in the State House Rotunda. Tours are available to groups of 12 or more, Monday through Friday, excluding holidays, between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. Tours, which are free of charge, last approximately one hour and include a brief history of the State House, an explanation of the functions of offices of the state officials located in the State House, and a visit to the House and Senate chambers. If time permits, a legislator may want to personally greet such groups.

Legislative sessions are open to the public, and the public is encouraged to observe a legislative session from the Senate and House galleries. Usually the Senate session begins at 1:30 p.m. on Tuesdays and Wednesdays and at 11:00 a.m. on Thursdays. The House usually meets on Tuesdays at 11:00 a.m., on Wednesdays at 1:30 p.m., and on Thursdays at 1:00 p.m. Dates and times of sessions are scheduled at the discretion of the Senate President and the Speaker of the House, so those wishing to observe a legislative session in progress should check in advance for specific dates and times.

If the class is planning to visit state offices in Columbus, call or write to your member of the House of Representatives or State Senator and ask if a tour of the State House and other offices can be arranged for the students. Your county board of elections can tell you the names of your Representative and Senator. You can get their office phone numbers by calling 800/282-0252 (466-8842 in Columbus). Write to Honorable (name), House of Representatives OR Ohio Senate, State House, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

County Offices

County boards of elections are usually glad to show classes of students what they do so long as the field trip is not scheduled during a very busy time of the year. Other county officials will usually be equally cooperative if given sufficient notice. Look in your local phone book under the government listings to find the phone numbers for specific offices. The board of elections is listed on the separate county resource sheet provided with this book.

Municipal Offices

A phone call to your local city or village mayor, council, or clerk's office is probably all that will be needed to arrange a field trip. Many councils meet in the evening; perhaps you could arrange for the class to arrive early and tour the offices before attending a council meeting. If you have students working as interns in municipal offices, they could explain to the class what those offices do.

Township Offices

One of the most neglected levels of local government, a meeting of township trustees, may be fascinating to students. They can learn what kinds of issues are addressed by the trustees by seeing them in action. You will probably have to find the names of the trustees or the township clerk and call one of them to find when and where they meet, because most townships do not have permanently staffed offices.

Board of Education

Probably the most accessible governmental body, local school board meetings are often held in the evening and are often in the high school building. Students usually find these meetings easy to understand because they deal with school issues with which students are familiar, but the students may be surprised by the wide variety of issues that are addressed. Advise the board secretary before taking a class to a board meeting so you can avoid meetings that are likely to go into long executive sessions and so they can be sure there are enough places for everyone to sit.

Political Offices

If students are discussing the election process or an upcoming election or are participating in a student election or a mock election, arrange a field trip to a political office. This could be a county party headquarters or a local campaign office that is opened a few months or weeks before the election. Your county party chairs can tell you where and when a field trip could be arranged.

It is particularly exciting for students to attend a campaign rally, whether for state or federal office. If taking students to a rally, be sure to warn them that the atmosphere will be very partisan; they should not expect to hear an evenhanded discussion of issues or candidates.

Students who will be old enough to vote in an election may be particularly interested in attending a "candidates' night" sponsored by a local civil group or the League of Women Voters. This provides an excellent opportunity to compare the merits of different candidates. It is even more worthwhile if the students have discussed some of the issues in class and formulated some questions to ask the candidates. Those who attend could then share their observations with the rest of the class.

YOUTH PROGRAMS

There are a number of programs designed to provide young people with opportunities to learn about government by seeing it in action or by participating in a structured simulation. Following are brief descriptions of a number of these programs, with addresses and phone numbers for obtaining more information.

Buckeye Girls' State

Mrs. Anita Wiley, Director of Government
American Legion Auxiliary
Department of Ohio
3785 Lincoln Avenue
Shadyside, OH 43947
614/676-5972 (office)
614/676-4508 (home)

Sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary, Buckeye Girls' State is held at Ashland College every June, for girls who have completed their junior year in high school. No more than two girls are selected from each high school. The girls are divided into "cities" and "parties"; they elect officeholders and conduct local and state government functions with the advice of staff members from those offices. Expenses of the participants are covered by the local Legion Auxiliary.

Buckeye Boys' State

Mr. Bill Welsh, Director
American Legion of Ohio
4060 Indianola Avenue
Columbus, OH 43214
614/268-7072

Sponsored by the American Legion, Buckeye Boys' State is held at Bowling Green State University every June, for boys who have completed their junior year in high school. No more than two boys are selected from each high school. The boys are divided into "cities" and "parties"; they elect officeholders and conduct local and state government functions with the advice of staff members from those offices. Expenses of the participants are covered by the local Legion Post.

Ohio YMCA Youth in Government

David King, Director
Ohio-West Virginia YMCA
Box 239
Pt. Pleasant, WV 25550
304/675-5776

Ohio-West Virginia YMCA
Headquarters
Horseshoe Leadership Center
Rt. 2, Box 138
St. George, WV 26290
304/478-2481

Ohio Office-YMCA
1457 South High Street
Columbus, OH 43207
614/299-4931

Sponsored by the YMCA, Ohio Youth in Government is held at the State House in Columbus every April, for high school students. The program includes a model legislature, model supreme court, youth lobbyists, press, pages, officers and cabinet. There is also a Freshman House for 9th graders.

Additional programs for high school students include a fall conference and a government leadership camp. Programs for 6th through 9th graders also include a model United Nations and leadership camp.

The program is funded partly from student program fees and partly from tax-deductable annual corporate, organizational, and individual support.

Convention II

P.O. Box 1987
Washington, DC 20013-1987
202/544-1789

A model Constitutional Convention of high school students from throughout the country convenes in February every year in the Capitol in Washington, DC. Delegates identify significant challenges confronting the country and propose solutions in the form of amendments to the Constitution.

The fee is about $450; each delegation is responsible for its own funding. Convention II is a nonprofit, tax-deductible organization.

Convention II has been replicated in at least three states, bringing the program to many students who for want of time or funding cannot come to Washington, DC. This concept may offer a feeder program for the national convention as well as an opportunity for other young people to participate in the experience.

Close Up Foundation

Penny Alberg
Close Up Foundation
1235 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington, VA 22202
703/892-5400

Close Up Foundation sponsors a number of programs, including a week-long Washington Program for high school students and a special program for the educators accompanying them. Citizen Bee is a national social studies competition for grades 9 through 12. Others include community-based programs, a program for 10th and 11th graders who are recent immigrants, television programming on C-SPAN, and supplemental textbooks and videotapes.

Close Up is a nonprofit, tax-exempt foundation funded by program tuitions and government, corporate, foundation, and individual support. Participation is open to all ability and income levels.

Presidential Classroom for Young Americans

441 North Lee Street
Alexandria, VA 22314-2346
703/683-5400

Presidential Classroom for Young Americans sponsors a number of programs, including an week-long governmental and cultural Senior High Program for juniors and seniors with "B" average or better who place in the top 25% of their class and are active in school or community groups. Tuition is about $610; some scholarships are available to "A" students who hold leadership positions and demonstrate real need. Teachers may apply as instructors. Classes are held February through mid-March and the latter half of June.

Other programs include one-week adult study of Congress; a 3-week international student leadership program in Europe; and community leadership programs (1988-89 field coordinators for Ohio: John Namey, Executive Director, Ohio Association of Student Councils, Glenoak High School, 2300 Schneider Street, NE, Canton 44721; Ken Woodrow, Student Council Advisor, Princeton High School, 11080 Chester Road, Cincinnati 45246)

Presidential Classroom is a nonpartisan, nonprofit corporation funded by tuition, foundations, corporations, and community organizations.

National Issues Forums in the Classroom
NIF Participation in Government Course

Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company
2480 Kerper Boulvard
P.O. Box 539
Dubuque, Iowa 42004-0539
800/258-5622

In Ohio, contact
National Issues Forums
100 Commons Road
Dayton, Ohio 45459
800/433-4819

Although rather different from the other programs described in this section, the NIF programs "provide a means for integrating critical-thinking and decision-making skills into different social studies areas. Both programs are based on real issues of public concern . . ."

Course materials, cassettes, and teacher guides are available on topics such as crime, immigration, farm crisis, trade gap, freedom of speech, AIDS, drugs, and others. There is a charge for the materials.

MUNICIPAL "SHADOW" GOVERNMENT

BACKGROUND

Municipal government is the most accessible of the three levels of government (local, state, national). It is the level at which citizens are most likely to know the officeholders personally. It is also the level of government with the most direct day-to-day effect on people's lives: the level of services provided by fire and police departments, trash collection, street maintenance, recreation programs, and health services largely determine the quality of live in a community.

Yet municipal elections attract the lowest voter turnout, attract little attention from the media, and are unknown and misunderstood by the general population.

If you ask your class what the city or village council does, what the mayor or auditor or city manager does, the chances are very good that they will have only a very vague answer or no answer at all.

Some schools have developed programs in cooperation with their local municipal officials to remedy this information shortfall. Although these programs vary, they often consist of three major components: study, election, and official-for-a-day.

Study. The class first researches and discusses the responsibilities of the officers and departments in its municipality.

Election. The students then elect members of the class to each of the elected offices for that municipality (mayor, council members, auditor, treasurer, city attorney or law director, etc.). Additional class members are appointed to such offices as safety director, service director, etc.

Official-for-a-day. On a specified day, each elected and appointed official follows his or her official for a day to observe the duties of that official. This is usually planned to include a meeting of the city council, so the students can sit with the officials and observe how all the different officeholders interact in making a city work.

The students then compare experiences in class, sharing the information and insights they have gained from direct experience with their municipal government.

OBJECTIVES

1. Students will learn the structure of their municipal government.
2. Students will gain some insight into how municipal government works.
3. Student interest in municipal government will be enhanced.

PREPARATION

1. Write up a brief outline (1-2 pages) of the kind of program you envisage to acquaint and involve your students in municipal government.

2. Discuss the proposed program with school officials.

3. Talk to the Mayor and President of Council about their willingness to participate in an official-for-a-day program. If they are interested, discuss how the program would work, asking for their suggestions.

4. Collect materials, arrange for speakers, locate sources of information, and prepare lesson plans. (Students can do much of this, helping them learn about municipal government, who the officials are, and gaining practice in research and communication skills.)

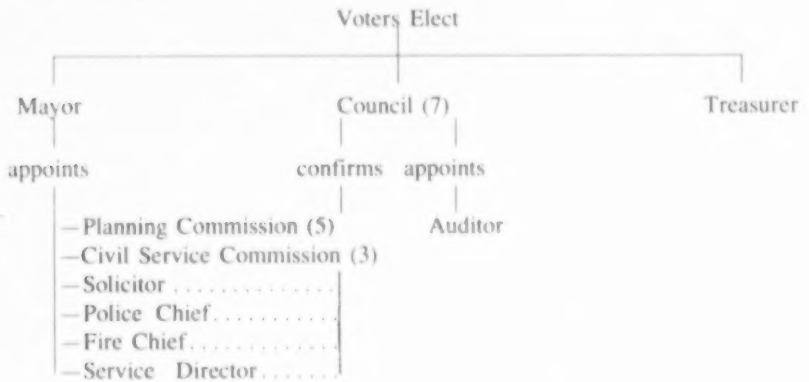
5. Obtain a copy of the municipal charter if yours is a "charter municipality" (the Mayor 's staff or the Clerk of Council will know). If not a charter municipality (that is, if this is a "statutory municipality"), reproduce the appropriate statutes (again, the Mayor or Clerk will know which form of government the municipality has) under Resources.

6. Review the Student Election section of the book.

ACTIVITIES

1. Provide the students with information about their city's form of government; or assign specific students the responsibility of finding out from their municipal officials what form of government they have and what officers they elect.

2. Review with the students which officers are elected and which are appointed and by whom. It may help to diagram your municipal government on the chalkboard as you discuss each office so the students can see who is responsible to whom. For example, it might look like this:



3. Discuss with the students what the responsibilities are of each of the elected officers and major appointed officers. This would be a good time to have an elected or appointed officeholder or a knowledgeable municipal employee as a guest speaker to clear up any questions.

4. Hold an election (within the class or schoolwide) to elect students for each of the elected positions in your municipal government. This can be as simple as having students in the class volunteer, then voting to choose one for each office. Or it can be a full-blown campaign and election (see Student Election for detailed suggestions).

5. The elected student officeholders make the same appointments as their municipal counterparts; thus, in the example above, the council members would appoint an auditor and the mayor would appoint the cabinet members.

6. All elected and appointed officeholders spend a pre-arranged day (or part of a day) "shadowing" their municipal counterparts. This should include a meeting of council, but also can include committee meetings and some time with the staff to observe daily operations.

7. Student officials-for-a-day report back to the class about what they learned about their respective offices, its responsibilities, its problems, and whatever else struck them as useful, informative, interesting, or bizarre.

Measurement

Quick Quiz

1. _____ is a (check one)
(teacher fill in name of municipality)

_____ a. charter city
_____ b. statutory city
_____ c. charter village
_____ d. statutory village

2. Our municipal form of government can best be described as _____

3. Name two municipal offices that are *elected.*

_____

_____

4. Name two municipal offices that are *appointed.*

_____

_____

5. Describe the duties of one *elected* municipal office.

_____

_____

_____

6. Describe the duties of one *appointed* municipal office.

_____

_____

_____

FOLLOW-UP

1. Have the class write thank-you notes to all the officeholders and staff members who helped.

2. After students have completed their study of municipal offices and have visited and heard reports on the responsibilities of the offices, ask the class if they have identified any ways to make their municipal government more responsive or more efficient or effective. Would any of these changes require adopting or amending a charter or could they be accomplished by ordinance or administrative directive? Does the class feel strongly enough about any of them to write a letter to the mayor, city manager or council suggesting the change?

3. Would any of the students ever want to be a candidate for municipal office? What changes or programs would they propose as candidates or officeholders?

4. Help the students keep track of news stories about municipal government, especially issues that were being discussed during their study. If they are concerned about an issue enough that they want to do something about it, move along to the section on Lobbying in this book for suggestions on how to influence a governmental decision. See also Student Volunteers, at Interns, (p. 83).

RESOURCES

The *Official Roster of Municipal & Township Officers and Members of Boards of Education* is published every even-numbered year by the Ohio Secretary of State. It lists for each county all of the local elected officials for every city, village, township, and board of education. It is available at public libraries and county boards of elections. A limited number are also available at no charge from the Secretary of State.

The *Ohio Revised Code* is available in its entirety in public libraries. Title 7 deals with municipal corporations.

An active successful program is sponsored for students in senior civics programs in Upper Arlington High School by the board of education, city government, and the local civic association. This "Youth in Government" program is coordinated by:

Margie Halk, City Clerk
3600 Tremont Road
Upper Arlington, OH 43221
614/457-5080, ext. 340

She will provide information and kits to teachers interested in initiating a similar program.

Additional information is also available from:

International City Managers Association (ICMA)
Dawn M. Warfle, Director of Training
1120 G Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/626-4626

CONSTITUTION OF OHIO
ARTICLE XVIII: MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS: SELECTED SECTIONS

§ 1 [Classification.]
Municipal corporations are hereby classified into cities and villages. All such corporations having a population of five thousand or over shall be cities; all others shall be villages. The method of transition from one class to the other shall be regulated by law. (Adopted September 3, 1912.)

§ 2 [General and additional laws.]
General laws shall be passed to provide for the incorporation and government of cities and villages; and additional laws may also be passed for the government of municipalities adopting the same; but no such additional law shall become operative in any municipality until it shall have been submitted to the electors thereof, and affirmed by a majority of those voting thereon, under regulations to be established by law. (Adopted September 3, 1912.)

§ 3 [Powers.]
Municipalities shall have authority to exercise all powers of local self-government and to adopt and enforce within their limits such local police, sanitary and other similar regulations, as are not in conflict with general laws. (Adopted September 3, 1912.)

§ 7 [Home rule.]
Any municipality may frame and adopt or amend a charter for its government and may, subject to the provisions of section 3 of this article, exercise thereunder all powers of local self-government. (Adopted September 3, 1912.)

§ 8 [Submission of question of election of charter commission; approval.]
The legislative authority of any city or village may by a two-thirds vote of its members, and upon petition of ten per cent of the electors shall forthwith, provide by ordinance for the submission to the electors, of the question, "Shall a commission be chosen to frame a charter." The ordinance providing for the submission of such question shall require that it be submitted to the electors at the next regular municipal election if one shall occur not less than sixty nor more than one hundred and twenty days after its passage; otherwise it shall provide for the submission of the question at a special election to be called and held within the time aforesaid. The ballot containing such question shall bear no party designation, and provision shall be made thereon for the election from the municipality at large of fifteen electors who shall constitute a commission to frame a charter; provided that a majority of the electors voting on such question shall have voted in the affirmative. Any charter so framed shall be submitted to the electors of the municipality at an election to be held at a time fixed by the charter

commission and within one year from the date of its election, provision for which shall be made by the legislative authority of the municipality in so far as not prescribed by general law. Not less than thirty days prior to such election the clerk of the municipality shall mail a copy of the proposed charter to each elector whose name appears upon the poll or registration books of the last regular or general election held therein. If such proposed charter is approved by a majority of the electors voting thereon it shall become the charter of such municipality at the time fixed therein. (Adopted September 3, 1912.)

§ 9 [Amendments to charter; submission; approval.]

Amendments to any charter framed and adopted as herein provided may be submitted to the electors of a municipality by a two-thirds vote of the legislative authority thereof, and, upon petitions signed by ten per centum of the electors of the municipality setting forth any such proposed amendment, shall be submitted by such legislative authority. The submission of proposed amendments to the electors shall be governed by the requirements of section 8 as to the submission of the question of choosing a charter commission; and copies of proposed amendments may be mailed to the electors as hereinbefore provided for copies of a proposed charter, or pursuant to laws passed by the general assembly, notice of proposed amendments may be given by newspaper advertising. If any such amendment is approved by a majority of the electors voting thereon, it shall become a part of the charter of the municipality. A copy of said charter or any amendment thereto shall be certified to the secretary of state, within thirty days after adoption by a referendum vote. (Amended January 1, 1971.)

§ 14 [Elections.]

All elections and submissions of questions provided for in this article shall be conducted by the election authorities prescribed by general law. The percentage of electors required to sign any petition provided for herein shall be based upon the total vote cast at the last preceding general municipal election. (Adopted September 3, 1912.)

OHIO REVISED CODE
SELECTED STATUTES CONCERNING MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

GENERAL PROVISIONS – APPLICABLE TO ALL PLANS

705.07 Sections applicable to each plan

Sections 705.07 to 705.32, inclusive, of the Revised Code, apply to and are a part of each plan of government provided in sections 705.41 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code. The powers conferred upon municipal corporations by Title VII of the Revised Code so far as applicable, shall govern unless otherwise provided by law. Each such plan may be proposed by the legislative authority of any municipal corporation by petition in the manner prescribed by law for the submission of initiative petitions. Such plan shall take effect and be in force when approved by a majority of the electors voting thereon.

705.08 Treasurer; duties

The treasurer shall be the custodian of all moneys of the municipal corporation, and shall keep the moneys in such manner and in such place as is determined by the legislative authority thereof. He shall pay out money only on warrants issued by the auditor.

705.09 Auditor; duties

The legislative authority of a municipal corporation shall choose an auditor, who shall keep an accurate account of all taxes and assessments, and of all money due to, all receipts and disbursements by, and of all assets and liabilities of the municipal corporation, and of all appropriations made by the legislative authority. The auditor shall, at the end of each fiscal year, and more often if required by the legislative authority, audit the accounts of the several departments and officers and shall audit all other accounts in which the municipal corporation is interested. The auditor may prescribe the form of reports to be rendered to his department, and the method of keeping daily reports, showing all money received and the disposition thereof, to be made to him by each department. The auditor shall, upon the death, resignation, removal, or expiration of the term of any officer, audit the accounts of the officer, and, if the officer is found indebted to the municipal corporation, the auditor shall immediately give notice thereof to the legislative authority and the village solicitor or city director of law, and the latter shall forthwith proceed to collect the indebtedness.

705.10 Appointment and term of officers and employees; clerk

The legislative authority of a municipal corporation shall choose a clerk and such other officers and employees of its own body as are necessary. The clerk shall keep the records of the legislative authority and perform such other duties as are required by ordinance or resolution. All officers and employees chosen by the legislative authority shall serve during the pleasure thereof.

705.11 Village solicitor or city director of law; duties

The village solicitor or city director of law shall act as the legal advisor to and attorney for the municipal corporation, and for all officers of the municipal corporation in matters relating to their official duties. He shall prepare all contracts, bonds, and other instruments in writing in which the municipal corporation is concerned, and shall endorse on each his approval of the form and the correctness thereof. No contract with the municipal corporation shall take effect until the approval of the village solicitor or city director of law is endorsed thereon. He or his assistants shall be the prosecutor in any police or municipal court, and shall perform such other duties and have such assistants and clerks as are required or provided.

705.12 Qualifications of members of legislative authority

Members of the legislative authority of a municipal corporation shall be electors of the municipal corporation. They shall not hold any other public office or employment, except that of notary public or member of the state militia, or state or county central committeeman of a political party, or state or county executive committeeman of a political party, or state or county officer of a political party, and shall not be interested in the profits or emoluments of any contract, job, work, or service for the municipal corporation. Any member who ceases to possess any of the qualifications required by this section shall forthwith forfeit his office. Any contract in which any such member is or becomes interested may be declared void by the legislative authority.

705.13 Salaries and attendance of members

The legislative authority of a municipal corporation shall, by ordinance, fix the salary of its members which shall be paid in equal monthly installments. For each absence from regular meetings of the legislative authority, unless authorized by a two-thirds vote of all members thereof, there shall be deducted a sum equal to two per cent of such annual salary. Absence for ten successive regular meetings shall operate to vacate the seat of a member, unless such absence is authorized by the legislative authority.

COMMISSION PLAN

705.41 Commission plan

The form of government provided in sections 705.41 to 705.48, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall be known as the "commission plan." In municipal corporations organized under such sections the only elective officers shall be the members of the municipal commission. Three commissioners shall be chosen in municipal corporation having not more than ten thousand inhabitants according to the last preceding federal census, and five commissioners in all other municipal corporations. All such commissioners shall be elected from the municipal corporation at large.

705.42 Election; term; vacancies

At the first election held after the adoption of the commission plan under sections 705.41 to 705.48, inclusive, of the Revised Code, the entire number of commissioners shall be chosen. In municipal corporations having three commissioners, the candidate having the highest number of votes at such first election shall hold office for four years, and the remaining commissioners shall hold office for two years. In municipal corporations choosing five commissioners, the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes at such first election shall serve for four years, and the remaining commissioners shall serve for two years. At all subsequent elections, except where a commissioner is chosen to fill out an unexpired term, commissioners shall be chosen for a term

of four years. Vacancies in the commission shall be filled by the commission for the remainder of the unexpired term. If the term of a commissioner whose place becomes vacant does not expire on the first day of January following the next regular municipal election, then the person chosen by the commission to fill such vacancy shall serve only until such regular election, at which time a commissioner shall be elected to fill the remainder of the unexpired term. When a vacancy occurs as the result of a recall election it shall be filled as provided by section 705.92 of the Revised Code.

705.43 Meetings of commission; legislative and administrative sessions

The commission shall meet at the regular place for holding such meetings at ten a.m. of the first day of January after its election, at which time the newly elected commissioners shall assume the duties of their office. Thereafter the commission shall meet in legislative session at least twice each month and in administrative session at least once each week, at such times as are prescribed by ordinance or resolution, but no legislative sessions of the commission shall be called by the clerk. Any such request shall state the subjects to be considered at such special meeting, and no other subject shall be considered.

705.44 Signing of ordinances under commission plan

Every ordinance or resolution passed by the commission shall be signed by the chairman or two members, filed with the clerk within two days, and shall be recorded by him.

705.45 Powers of commission

The powers conferred upon municipal corporations by the Ohio Constitution, and any additional powers conferred upon municipal corporations by the general assembly, shall be exercised by the commission or under its direction, unless the exercise of such powers is expressly conferred upon some other authority of the municipal corporation or reserved to the people thereof.

705.46 Administrative officers appointed by commission

The commission shall appoint a clerk, treasurer, and auditor. If the commission is the commission of a village, the commission shall also appoint a solicitor. If the commission is the commission of a city, the commission shall also appoint a city director of law. Provision may be made by ordinance for the performance of the duties of clerk and treasurer by the same person.

705.47 Creation and discontinuance of offices under commission plan

Subject to sections 705.01 to 705.92, inclusive, of the Revised Code, the commission may:

(A) Create and discontinue departments, offices, and employments;

(B) Appoint or provide for the appointment of all officers and employees of the municipal corporation;

(C) Remove any such officers or employees by a majority vote of all members of the commission, and by ordinance or resolution prescribe, limit, or change the compensation of such officers and employees.

705.48 Supervision of departments by commissioners

The commission may assign the direction or supervision of particular departments or branches of the government of a municipal corporation to individual commissioners. Such action shall not release the commission as a whole from responsibility for the condition of any department or branch of government so assigned.

CITY MANAGER PLAN

705.51 City manager plan

The form of government provided in sections 705.51 to 705.60, inclusive, of the Revised Code, to be known as the "city manager plan," shall consist of a council of five or more citizens, according to the population of the municipal corporation as determined by the last preceding federal census, who shall be elected at large. The council shall constitute the governing body of such municipal corporation with power to:

(A) Pass ordinances;

(B) Adopt resolutions;

(C) Appoint a chief administration officer, to be known as the city manager;

(D) Approve all appointments made by the city manager, except as provided in sections 705.01 to 705.92, inclusive, of the Revised Code;

(E) Fix all salaries;

(F) Appoint a civil service commission and all boards or commissions created by ordinance.

705.52 Size of council; term of councilmen; vacancies

The number of councilmen of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.51 to 705.60, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall be in proportion to the population of the municipal corporation, as determined by the last preceding federal census, as follows:

(A) A municipal corporation having not more than ten thousand inhabitants, five;

(B) More than ten thousand and not more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants, seven;

(C) More than twenty-five thousand inhabitants, nine.

All councilmen shall serve for a term of four years. At the first election in municipal corporations having five councilmen, the three candidates having the highest number of votes shall serve for four years and the two candidates having the next highest number of votes shall serve for two years. In municipal corporations having more than five councilmen, a majority of those elected having the highest number of votes shall serve for a period of four years and the others shall serve for a period of two years. Vacancies in the council shall be filled by the council for the remainder of the unexpired term, but any vacancy resulting from a recall election shall be filled in the manner provided in section 705.92 of the Revised Code.

705.53 Meetings of council

The council of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.51 to 705.60, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall meet at the usual place for holding such meetings, at ten a.m. on the first day of January after its election, at which time the newly elected councilmen shall assume the duties of their office. Thereafter the council shall meet in regular session at least twice each month, at such times and places as are fixed by ordinance. The clerk shall call special sessions of the council upon written request of the chairman or of any two members. Any such requests shall state the subjects to be considered at such special meeting and no other subject shall be considered.

705.54 Signing of ordinances under city manager plan

Every ordinance or resolution passed by the council shall be signed by the chairman or two members, filed with the clerk within two days, and shall be recorded by him.

705.55 Powers exercised by council

The powers conferred upon municipal corporations by the Ohio Constitution and any additional powers conferred upon municipal corporations by the general assembly, shall be exercised by the council, unless the exercise of such powers is expressly conferred upon some other authority of the municipal corporation or reserved to the people thereof. In municipal corporations in which a municipal court is not provided by law, each councilman may perform all of the general duties of mayors, as provided in section 733.30 of the Revised Code, and shall have such jurisdiction as is provided by section 1905.20 of the Revised Code. The member of council elected chairman shall perform all judicial functions.

705.56 Administrative officers appointed by council

The council shall appoint a clerk, treasurer, and auditor. If the council is created within a village, the council shall also appoint a solicitor. If the council is created within a city, the council shall also appoint a city director of law. Provision may be made by ordinance for the performance if the duties of clerk and treasurer, or clerk and auditor, by the same person. Council may provide that the treasurer or auditor may be employed as cashier in the electric light or water department of the municipal corporation, or both, and as clerk to the city manager, and as clerk to the civil service commission of the municipal corporation. Council may provide that a part of the salary of the auditor shall be paid from the income of any publicly-owned utility or cemetery operated by the municipal corporation, the part to be fixed by the council with reference to the proportion of his services devoted to the utility or cemetery. Council may provide that the auditor or treasurer may be employed as cashier of the utility or cemetery, or both, and as clerk to the city manager and as clerk to the civil service commission. The auditor

or treasurer may be paid for such services from the funds of the utility or cemetery, in addition to his salary as auditor or treasurer.

705.59 Duties of city manager

The city manager shall:

(A) See that the laws and ordinances are faithfully executed;

(B) Attend all meetings of the council at which his attendance is required by that body;

(C) Recommend measures for adoption to the council;

(D) Appoint all officers and employees in the classified service of the municipal corporation, subject to Chapters 124. and 705. of the Revised Code;

(E) Prepare and submit to the council such reports as are required by that body, or as he deems advisable;

(F) Keep the council fully advised of the financial condition of the municipal corporation and its future needs;

(G) Prepare and submit to the council a tentative budget for the next fiscal year;

(H) Perform such other duties as the council determines by ordinance or resolution;

(I) Sign all contracts and bonds for and on behalf of the municipal corporation.

FEDERAL PLAN

705.71 Federal plan; elective officers

The form of government provided in sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall be known as the "federal plan." In municipal corporations adopting such plan the only elective officers shall be the mayor and members of council.

705.72 Council; term; number of members

All legislative power of the municipal corporation organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall be vested in a council of not less than five nor more than fifteen members. In municipal corporations of less than ten thousand population, members of the council shall be elected at large; in all others they shall be elected from wards or at large, as determined by the vote provided for in section 705.03 of the Revised Code. The term of office of such members shall be two years when the council is elected by wards, and four years when the council is elected at large. At the first election in municipal corporations having three councilmen, each of whom is elected at large, the candidates having the two highest number of votes shall serve for four years and the other councilman shall serve for two years. In municipal corporations having more than three councilmen, the majority of such councilmen who have the highest number of votes shall serve for a period of four years and the others shall serve for a period of two years.

When the council is elected by wards, the number of councilmen shall be in proportion to the population of the municipal corporation, as determined by the last preceding federal census as follows: a municipal corporation having not more than ten thousand inhabitants, five councilmen; more than ten thousand and not more than twenty-five thousand, seven councilmen; more than twenty-five thousand and not more than fifty thousand, nine councilmen; and for each twenty-five thousand inhabitants in excess of fifty thousand, the number shall be increased by one, but the total number of councilmen shall not exceed fifteen.

When the council is elected at large, the number of councilmen shall be in proportion to the population if the municipal corporation, as determined by the last preceding federal census, as follows: a municipal corporation having not more than ten thousand inhabitants, three councilmen; more than ten thousand and not more than twenty-five thousand, five councilmen; more than twenty-five thousand and not more than fifty thousand, seven councilmen and for each twenty-five thousand inhabitants in excess of fifty thousand the number shall be increased by one, but the total number of councilmen shall not exceed nine.

705.74 Meetings of council; special sessions

The council shall meet at ten a.m. on the first day of January following a regular municipal election at the usual place for holding such meetings, at which time the newly elected councilmen shall assume the duties of their office. Thereafter the council shall meet, at least twice each month, at such times as are prescribed by ordinance or resolution. Special sessions of the council shall be called by the clerk upon the written request of the mayor, the chairman, or any two members of council. Any such report shall state the subjects to be considered at the meeting, and no other subjects shall be considered.

705.75 Mayor's veto

Any ordinance or resolution passed by the council shall be signed by the chairman or two members of council and presented to the mayor. If the mayor approves such ordinance or resolution he shall sign it, but if he does not approve it, he shall return it to the council with his objections within ten days thereafter, or if the council is not then in session such objections shall be returned at the next meeting thereof. The council shall cause such objections to be entered in full on its journal. If the mayor does not return an ordinance or resolution within the time specified it shall take effect in the same manner as if he had signed it. The mayor may approve or disapprove the whole or any item or part of any ordinance or resolution appropriating money. When the mayor refuses to sign any ordinance or resolution, or part thereof, and returns it to the council with his objections, the council shall, after the expiration of not less than one week, proceed to reconsider it, and if, upon reconsideration, the resolution or ordinance, or part or item thereof, disapproved by the mayor is approved by the vote of two thirds of all the members elected to the council, it shall then take effect as if it had received the signature of the mayor. In all such cases the votes shall be taken by "yeas" and "nays" and entered on the journal.

705.77 Executive power

The executive power of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall be vested in the mayor, the heads of the departments of the municipal corporation, and such other executive officers as are provided for in such sections or as provided for by ordinance.

705.78 Election of mayor; appointment of department heads

The mayor of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86 of the Revised Code, shall be elected at a regular municipal election for a term of four years, and shall assume office on the first day of January next following his election. He shall appoint a director of public service, a director of public safety, and a treasurer. If the mayor is the mayor of a village he shall also appoint a solicitor. If the mayor is the mayor of a city, he shall also appoint a director of law. The council may provide, by ordinance, for combining the offices and duties of the directors of public service and public safety. The mayor and the heads of the departments of the municipal corporation shall not hold any other federal, state, county, or municipal office, except that of notary public or member of the state militia, nor shall they be employees in any such office.

705.79 Powers and duties of mayor

The mayor of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall:

(A) See that the laws and ordinances are enforced;

(B) Recommend measures to the council for adoption;

(C) Keep the council fully advised of the financial condition and future needs of the municipal corporation;

(D) Prepare and submit to the council such reports as are required by that body;

(E) Appoint competent, disinterested persons, not exceeding three in number, to examine without notice the affairs in any department, officer, or employee, and report the result of such examination to the mayor, and such result shall also be transmitted by him to the council without delay;

(F) Perform such other duties as the council determines by ordinance or resolution.

705.80 Appointment and removal of officers and employees

Subject to sections 705.01 to 705.92, inclusive, of the Revised Code, all officers, clerks, and employees of the several departments of government of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, and subdivisions thereof, shall be appointed, employed, suspended, or removed by the head of such department. The mayor may, without assignment of reason, remove any department head appointed by him.

705.81 Acting mayor; order of succession

If the mayor is temporarily absent from the

municipal corporation, or becomes temporarily disabled by sickness, accident, or for any other cause, the heads of the departments shall, during the absence or disability, perform the duties if the mayor under the designation of acting mayor, in the following order: village solicitor or city director of law, director of public safety, auditor, and treasurer. If the mayor dies or removes his residence from the municipal corporation during the term of his office, the succession to the office of mayor shall be from the heads of the departments in the order provided in this section, and the successor shall become the mayor of the municipal corporation for the unexpired term. In the event of any temporary disability or absence on the part of any director or department head, the mayor may, in writing, designate some suitable person to perform his duties until he resumes his office.

705.82 Director of Public service; Duties

The department of public service shall be under the supervision of a director who shall be appointed by the mayor. Such director shall be responsible for the care , management, construction, and improvement of:

(A) All utilities owned or operated by the municipal corporation;

(B) All public ways, grounds cemeteries, buildings, sewers, and structures of every kind, except buildings and structures used in connection with the work to be performed under the direction of the director of public safety as provided by section 705.83 of the Revised Code;

(C) The making and preserving of survey maps, plans, drawings, and estimates relating to the public work under the supervision of the department;

(D) All matters in any way relative to or affecting the highways, footways, waterways, harbors, wharves, and docks within the municipal corporation. Such director shall exercise the powers formerly vested in the trustee of waterworks, park commissions, platting commissions, city engineers, or other board of officers, relating to the work committed to the care and management of the director of public service by this section.

705.83 Director of public safety; duties

The department of public safety shall be under the supervision of a director who shall be appointed by the mayor. The director shall have charge of the police, fire, health, charities, corrections, and building inspection of the municipal corporation. All powers and authority over such police, fire, health, charities, corrections, and building shall have charge of the administration of all infirmaries, and all charitable, correctional, and penal institutions. He shall make such rules as are necessary and proper, consistent with the minimum standards for jails in Ohio promulgated by the department of rehabilitation and correction, for the employment, discipline, instructions, education, reformation, and for the conditional release and return of all prisoners confined in any penal institution under his control.

705.84 Powers and duties of board of control

In municipal corporations organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, there shall be a board of control composed of the mayor, who shall be the president thereof, the auditor, and the heads of the departments appointed by the mayor. The board of control shall:

(A) Have stated meetings at least twice a week;

(B) Keep a record of its proceedings;

(C) take its votes by yeas and nays, which votes shall be entered on the record;

(D) Adopt any motion or order only by a majority vote of all the members of the board.

No ordinance or resolution involving any expenditure of money for public improvements shall be passed until it has been approved by the board of control, except upon a two-thirds vote of the council of the muncipal corporation.

705.85 Mayor and department heads shall have seats in council.

The mayor and heads of the several departments of a municipal corporation organized under sections 705.71 to 705.86, inclusive, of the Revised Code, shall have seats in the council of the municipal corporation. The mayor may introduce ordinances and take part in the proceedings and deliberations of council on all questions, and the heads of departments may take part in its proceedings and deliberations on all questions relating to their departments, subject to such rules as the council prescribes. Neither the mayor nor the heads of the several departments shall have the right to vote in the council.

MOCK TRIAL

The Ohio Mock Trial program is designed to make high school students and teachers aware of their constitutional rights and responsibilities.

Each year volunteer attorneys fabricate a legally authentic case involving a constitutional issue that is relevant to students' own personal experiences. Issues of personal autonomy, substantive and procedural due process, freedom of speech, and protection from unreasonable search and seizure have become meaningful to students through these cases.

After the case is developed and printed, one-day training sessions staffed by legal volunteers and law professors are offered at various locations across the state. Teachers who attend are briefed in the use of case materials in the classroom and receive instruction in methods of preparing students to present mock trials. These teachers are encouraged to use the materials in their classes and have the option of entering a student team in the academic competition.

The program is available to all public and private high schools in Ohio; state finalists have represented rural, inner-city, suburban, and small town schools across the state. In 1988-1989, 137 high schools plus metropolitan programs participated in the program. The sponsors of the program are Attorney General Anthony J. Celebrezze, Jr., the American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio Foundation, the Ohio State Bar Association, and the Supreme Court of Ohio.

For information on this and other law-related educational programs, contact:

Sue Hunt McNaghten or Debra Hallock Phillips
Program Directors
Ohio Mock Trial Program & Ohio Center for Law-Related Education
33 West Eleventh Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201
800/282-6556 (toll free in Ohio)
421-2121 (in Franklin County)

For related activity, see "YOUTH PROGRAMS," Ohio YMCA Youth in Government (p. 85).

MOCK LEGISLATURE

BACKGROUND

Student participation in a mock legislature provides an effective way to stimulate discussion about current political issues being reported in the news media; about the legislative process—how the real Ohio General Assembly and the United States Congress work; and about parliamentary procedure—how to provide for orderly discussion of controversial issues.

This unit outlines a very simplified procedure to avoid getting entangled in technicalities. A mock legislative session affords an excellent opportunity for an orderly class discussion of complex public policy questions. Students can learn how to marshall their arguments to persuade others of their point of view; and even those students who do not participate actively in the drafting, amending, and debating of bills can make their opinions felt when the time comes to vote for or against each amendment or bill. The possible inability of the class to develop wording on which a majority can agree can, in itself, demonstrate effectively the difficulties involved in legislating solutions to thorny problems.

If the students get enthusiastic about this program, it can be almost infinitely elaborated. They can elect additional officers, appoint committees, hold committee hearings on bills, draft and debate resolutions. A field trip to visit the General Assembly or lobbying on an issue they have researched would make this more of a real-world experience.

The process described in this program is a rather sanitized version of the legislative process, but careful reading of newspaper accounts of legislative news could lead to very interesting discussions about how the real world works.

OBJECTIVES

Students will gain some practical experience with the legislative process.

Students will practice structured debate of complex topics under simplified parliamentary procedure.

Students will be encouraged to follow issues being discussed in the Ohio General Assembly and the United States Congress.

PREPARATION

Read through the whole unit to decide how this legislative session will be organized. The teacher needs to make a number of decisions about organization before initiating this unit.

Time. How long will the legislative session last? Ohio does not limit the time its General Assembly can be in session, but many states do limit their sessions to 60 working days, 6 months, or some other limited time. You may want to devote one week to the legislative session, perhaps with some class periods devoted to issue research, discussion of issues being debated by the Ohio General Assembly or the U.S. Congress, drafting of bills, or a guest speaker. Or you may devote one class period a week to legislative sessions (the Ohio legislature usually meets only three days a week) for a fixed number of weeks.

Structure. An ideal situation is one teacher who has two appropriate classes, such as American Government or Problems of Democracy. In this circumstance, the smaller of the two classes can be the "Senate"; the larger class can be the "House of Representatives." The teacher is the "Governor," with authority to veto bills and perhaps to propose programs for consideration by the legislature.

If a teacher has only one appropriate class, that class could be a unicameral legislative body, such as the Nebraska legislature (a single house in which all members are Senators).

If a teacher has three or more appropriate classes, they can be formed into two or more different legislatures, or one (or more) bicameral legislatures plus one unicameral body.

Parties. Decide how to split the class into political parties (see Activities).

Rules. Decide on the rules of procedure. These can be as simple or as elaborate as you want to make them. The teacher can take an active part in the proceedings or can stand aside and offer advice only when necessary, in the role of a parliamentarian. Students should be informed as fully as possible what the rules of the game will be. For example, decide ahead of time whether to allow overriding of a veto. If vetoes are final, explain that to the class ahead of time. If vetoes can be overridden, explain that the bill is returned to the house where it started. It must pass again with a yes vote of at least ⅔ of the members (20 votes in a class of 30). If it gets ⅔ approval in that house, it must then get a ⅔ vote in the second house, too. It then becomes law in spite of the Governor's veto.

Materials. Make copies of the materials you want to distribute to students from the Resources at the end of this unit. These will help explain to the class how the program will work and get them started on organizing and preparing bills.

ACTIVITIES

If the classes divide fairly evenly between students who consider themselves Democrats and Republicans, they could organize along those party lines. Otherwise, they can be divided arbitrarily into parties such as the "Nationalists" and "Federalists" or the "Whigs" and "Tories." Be sure each class is divided so that one party has a majority. The same party need not be in the majority in both houses of the mock legislature.

The teacher may choose to preside over the Senate and House, taking the roles of both the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. Or each party will hold a "caucus" of its members to elect its leadership. The majority in the Senate chooses its President and the majority party in the House chooses its Speaker, who will preside over all formal sessions and who will be the leaders of their parties in the respective houses. The minority party caucuses elect the Minority Leaders of the Senate and the House, who will be the leaders of the minority parties in their respective houses.

Note: If all of this power in the hands of the majority party seems unfair to the class, this is a good opportunity to point out that this power is exactly why the political parties work so hard to elect enough of their members to be a majority in state legislatures and Congress. Members of the minority party in any legislative body often find it very difficult to get their proposals considered.

Bills are written by individual members, or small groups of members can cooperate on writing a bill. Bills are numbered consecutively as they are introduced.

The person who wrote the bill begins the debate by explaining why the bill is needed. Then members who want to talk for or against the bill raise their hands and the President or Speaker calls on them one at a time to speak. Each person may speak only once until everyone who wants to speak on the subject has had a turn. It may be necessary to limit the time each speaker can talk.

Members may propose amendments, but each one must be seconded and discussed and voted on.

After all discussion and any amendments are dealt with, the President/Speaker calls for the vote. The fastest and surest way to count votes is to have all the "yes" votes raise their hands and count them; then have all the "no" votes raise their hands and count them.

Ohio law requires a majority "yes" vote of all the members (not just half of those present or half of those voting) to pass a bill. Therefore, if there are 30 class members, it would take 16 "yes" votes, even if only 27 class members were present and even if only 25 of those voted and 2 abstained from voting.

After the first house has passed a bill, it goes to the second house for the same process of debate and voting. The person who introduced the bill in the first house of the legislature should find someone in the other house to "carry" the bill, explaining why it is needed and answering questions about it.

If the bill passes the second house, it then goes to the Governor, who can either sign it (making it a law) or veto it with an explanation why it was vetoed.

MEASUREMENT

The bills that are drafted will provide opportunity for practicing clear, concise writing.

The research involved in drafting, amending, defending, and opposing bills will provide opportunities for learning how to research a subject and present the findings.

The debate on bills provides opportunities for speaking to a group, preparing clear and convincing arguments, and learning to think on your feet by responding to questions and opposing arguments.

FOLLOW-UP

Have the students follow in the news media the action of the General Assembly concerning any bills considered by the student mock legislature. They may want to follow up on the research they did on their own bills by lobbying for similar legislation in the General Assembly.

Students who find legislative work especially interesting may be interested in learning more about the Ohio Legislative Intern Program.

Legislative Intern Program

Since 1962, the Legislative Service Commission has sponsored a legislative intern program. Each year this program provides several recent college graduates with full-time employment as a legislative staff person for thirteen months. Interns are assigned by LSC to one of the four political caucuses of the legislature. They are then assigned to members in the manner that best serves the needs of the caucus.

Interns are selected solely on the basis of their qualifications, free of political or patronage considerations. The program is administered by a person on the LSC staff who is responsible for such things as recruitment, interviewing, selection, training, and budgeting. This LSC staff person does not, however, supervise the daily activities of the interns. Each caucus is responsible for assigning their interns work within the caucus and for reviewing an intern's work.

The LSC intern program has been extremely successful in developing persons for permanent legislative positions. As a result of this success, the program has become very popular and competitive. In recent years, the LSC has received in excess of 200 applications annually. All members of the General Assembly are provided with detailed information each year about internship application requirements, deadlines, procedures, salary, and other pertinent information.

RESOURCES

Much of the material on the legislative process is taken directly or adapted from *A Guidebook for Ohio Legislators.* Another good source of information is *Know Your Ohio Government.* (League of Women Voters of Ohio, 65 South Fourth Street, Columbus, Ohio 43125, Phone 614/469-1505).

Your member of the Ohio House of Representatives or the Ohio Senate would make an excellent guest speaker to explain the procedures of the legislature, some of the issues being debated, and to answer questions. Anyone who has worked as a lobbyist could also explain how the process works and answer questions.

Legislative Information. In 1983 the General Assembly created a Legislative Information Office for the purpose of establishing one central contact point for persons desiring legislative information. This office maintains up-to-date computerized records on the status of each bill introduced in the General Assembly and can relay information on the status of any bill on any particular day. In addition, this office may be contacted for information regarding the schedule and agenda of committee meetings and floor sessions in the House and the Senate. The Legislative Information Office is staffed Monday through Friday between the hours of 8:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. Persons calling from the Columbus area may call 466-8842. Persons calling from outside the Columbus area may call, without charge, 1-800-282-0253.

Legislative Responsibilities

Unlike many professions, no formal program exists which a citizen may follow to learn how to become a legislator. In medicine, engineering, law, or most other technical endeavors, one seeking excellence in a field may attend a university to gain the necessary preparation. Although some legislators have practical experience in local government, some legislators, when first elected, enter their new profession with little, if any, prior training. The metamorphosis from candidate to legislator is swift: one day the candidate is seeking the necessary votes, the next day the votes are counted, and instantly, the successful candidate is a legislator. A few weeks after the election, the legislator assumes the responsibilities of the new post.

The responsibilities of legislators are both varied and complex. In essence, however, legislators:

Prepare for and legislate a program derived from a variety or sources, including their districts, their political party, state agencies, interest groups, and the committees on which they serve;

Conceive the need for new legislation through study of the problems of their district and the state;

Initiate research through staff and committees;

Request preparation of bills and amendments;

Develop support for their proposals and lend support or oppose programs of other legislators;

Review the daily "Calendar," "Journal," and "Bulletin" to keep informed on bills scheduled for hearing and floor action;

Attend sessions, take part in debate, and vote on business before the chamber;

Exercise legislative oversight over the administration of state government and the state budget through committee hearings, personal contacts, review of reports, and investigation of complaints;

Respond to correspondence and telephone calls from their constituents;

Inform constituents on the progress of legislation and on their position on specific bills, and, in turn, keep themselves informed on the opinions of their constituents, political parties, and interest groups;

Attend committee meetings and hearings, both in Columbus and elsewhere in the state, to become informed on the details of proposals, the arguments for and against them, and to attempt to alter the proposals by amendment when necessary to make them more acceptable;

Act as liaison between their districts and state and federal agencies, providing personal assistance to their constituents in handling their problems;

Assume an active role in their districts by serving on committees and attending and speaking at civic organizations' meetings;

Play an active role in their political parties by attending and participating in party caucuses, meetings of a specialized nature, and general conventions;

Take part in local and state ceremonial functions; and

Recognize organizations and individuals in their district for significant achievements by sending congratulatory letters and resolutions.

In performing these tasks, legislators must often make decisions under pressure from a number of opposing interests. A recurring decision legislators must make is a determination of whether they are an agent of those who elected them, bound by instructions and required to act as directed by local interests, or are free to act as they believe best, relying on their judgment to determine the most desirable course for the district, the state, or both.

Forms of Legislation

Ohio legislators are normally confronted with two forms of legislation: bills and resolutions. The most common form is the bill. When a proposal is ready for introduction in the General Assembly, and during its progress through the legislative process, it is called a bill. When approved by the General Assembly it becomes an act, and when signed by the Governor it becomes a law. Bills are vehicles by which the General Assembly enacts new laws and amends or repeals existing laws. After passing both houses of the General Assembly, enacted bills must be presented to the Governor for acceptance or rejection. Resolutions, most of which are formal expressions of the opinions and wishes of the General Assembly, do not require the approval of the Governor.

Bills. The Ohio Constitution contains several provisions relating to the style and content of bills introduced in the General Assembly. Some of the major constitutional requirements are as follows:

1. The contents of a bill must all be connected with one general subject, which must be clearly expressed in its title.
2. Any law or section of law that is being amended must be printed in full as it will appear after it is amended in that bill. The existing version of the section or sections of law which the bill proposes to amend must be repealed.
3. Every tax law must state the purposes for which the tax revenue is to be used.
4. The Constitution requires that ninety full days pass before a law goes into effect in order to permit any possible referendum petition to be obtained and filed. This makes the normal effective date of a law passed by the General Assembly the ninety-first day after its filing in the Office of the Secretary of State, unless the law includes appropriations for the current expenses of the state government, provides for a tax levy, or is an emergency measure. Such emergency, tax levy, and current appropriation laws become effective immediately upon approval by the Governor.

Parliamentary Procedure*

Listed below are some simple definitions of motions and questions used in parliamentary procedure.

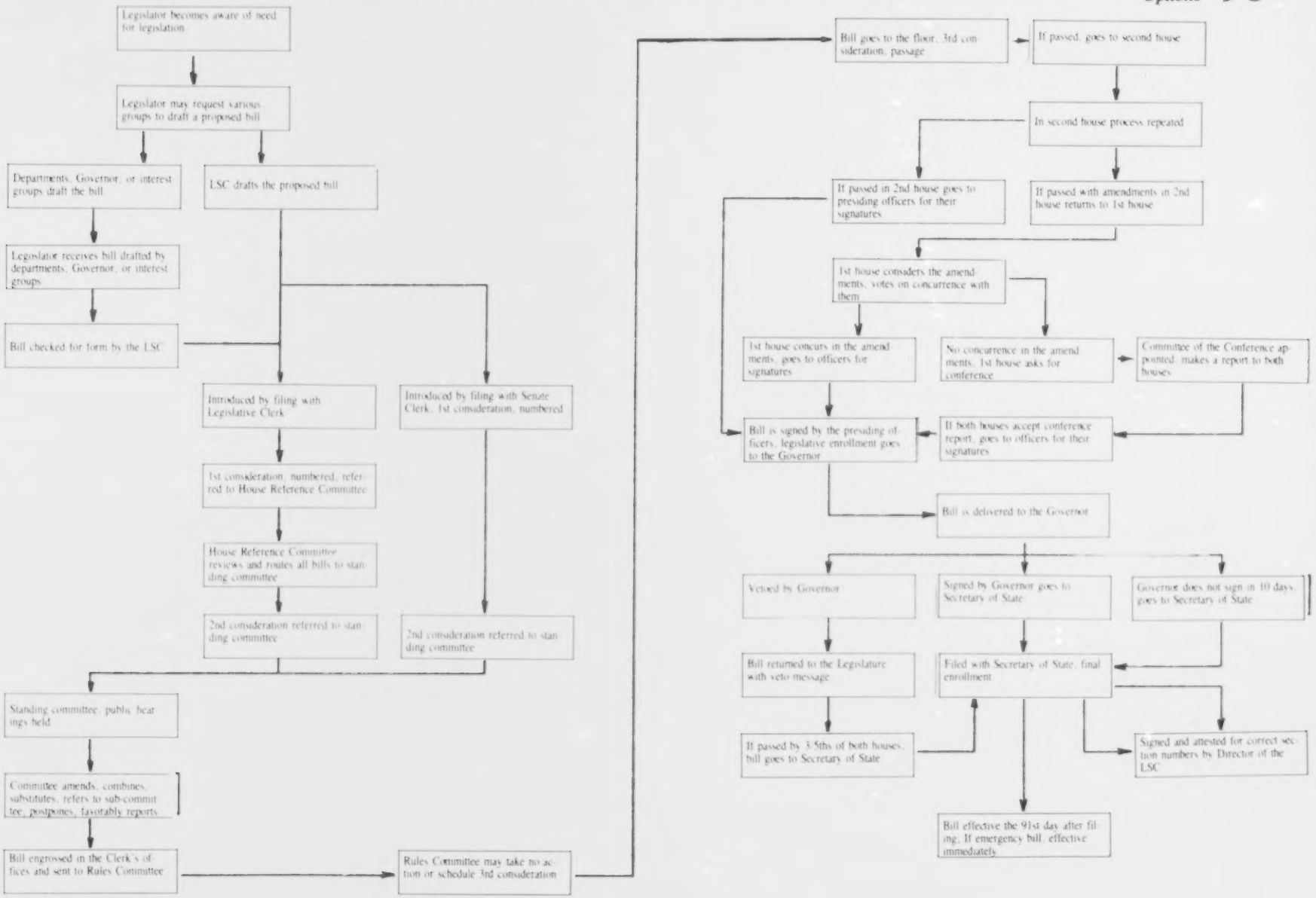
The proper form to make a motion is: "Mr./Madame Chairman, I move to..."

Adjourn: motion used to suspend operations and end business until the next scheduled meeting. (compare Recess)

Amend: motion used to change an issue by adding new language, taking out existing language, or taking out existing language to add new language. Motions to amend must be about the same subject as the issue. An amendment can be amended, but an amendment to an amendment cannot.

* *Adapted from A Guide for Ohio Legislators.*

An Outline of the Steps Involved in Enacting Law


Legislator becomes aware of need for legislation
Legislator may request various groups to draft a proposed bill
Departments, Governor, or interest groups draft the bill
LSC drafts the proposed bill
Legislator receives bill drafted by departments, Governor, or interest groups
Bill checked for form by the LSC
Introduced by filing with Legislative Clerk
Introduced by filing with Senate Clerk, 1st consideration, numbered
1st consideration, numbered, referred to House Reference Committee
House Reference Committee reviews and routes all bills to standing committee
2nd consideration referred to standing committee
2nd consideration referred to standing committee
Standing committee, public hearings held
Committee amends, combines, substitutes, refers to sub-committee, postpones, favorably reports
Bill engrossed in the Clerk's offices and sent to Rules Committee
Rules Committee may take no action or schedule 3rd consideration
Bill goes to the floor, 3rd consideration, passage
If passed, goes to second house
In second house process repeated
If passed in 2nd house goes to presiding officers for their signatures
If passed with amendments in 2nd house returns to 1st house
1st house considers the amendments, votes on concurrence with them
1st house concurs in the amendments, goes to officers for signatures
No concurrence in the amendments, 1st house asks for conference
Committee of the Conference appointed, makes a report to both houses
Bill is signed by the presiding officers, legislative enrollment goes to the Governor
If both houses accept conference report, goes to officers for their signatures
Bill is delivered to the Governor
Vetoed by Governor
Signed by Governor goes to Secretary of State
Governor does not sign in 10 days, goes to Secretary of State
Bill returned to the Legislature with veto message
Filed with Secretary of State, final enrollment
If passed by 3/5ths of both houses, bill goes to Secretary of State
Signed and attested for correct section numbers by Director of the LSC
Bill effective the 91st day after filing. If emergency bill, effective immediately

(House Bill Number 186)

AN ACT

To enact section 5533.44 of the Revised Code to designate Interstate Number Four Hundred Seventy-Five running through Wood and Lucas Counties as the "Rosa Parks Highway."

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. That section 5533.44 of the Revised Code be enacted to read as follows:

Sec. 5533.44. THE ROAD KNOWN AS INTERSTATE NUMBER FOUR HUNDRED SEVENTY-FIVE, WHICH ENCIRCLES THE CITY OF TOLEDO AND IS LOCATED IN LUCAS AND WOOD COUNTIES, SHALL BE KNOWN AS THE "ROSA PARKS HIGHWAY."

THE DIRECTOR OF TRANSPORTATION MAY ERECT SUITABLE MARKERS ALONG THE HIGHWAY INDICATING ITS NAME.

Vernal G. Riffe, Jr.

Speaker _____ *of the House of Representatives.*

Stanley J. Aronoff

President _____ *of the Senate.*

Passed May 25, 1988

Approved June 13, 1988
11:29 AM

Richard F. Celeste

Governor.

The section numbering of law of a general and permanent nature is complete and in conformity with the Revised Code.

Robert Howard

Director, Legislative Service Commission.

Filed in the office of the Secretary of State at Columbus, Ohio, on the 14th day of June, A. D. 1988

Sherrod Brown

Secretary of State.

File No. 23 Effective Date September 13, 1988

Activity Options 99

(Senate Bill Number_____)

AN ACT

TO _____

_____

_____

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4 _____

5 _____

6 _____

7 _____

8 _____

9 _____

10 _____

_____
President of the Senate

_____
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Passed _____, 19_____

Approved _____, 19_____

_____
Governor

(House Bill Number_____)

AN ACT

TO _____

_____

_____

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4 _____

5 _____

6 _____

7 _____

8 _____

9 _____

10 _____

_____

Speaker of the House of Representatives

_____

President of the Senate

Passed _____ . 19_____

Approved _____ . 19_____

_____

Governor

Lay on the Table: motion used to get rid of an issue without voting on it.

Previous Question: used to bring a vote on whether or not to end the debate.

Question/Point of Order: used to question whether an action violates the rules of the house or follows a procedure incorrectly.

Recess: motion used for an interim between any two sessions on the same day. (compare Adjourn)

Reconsider: motion used to bring a previously resolved issue back before a house as though it had never been considered before. The motion must be made by a member who voted on the winning side and must be made within two (school?) days after the original disposition of the issue. A motion to reconsider may be postponed to a certain time or left pending.

Special Order: motion to bring up an issue at a particular day and hour for consideration under a suspension of the rules.

Suspension of the Rules: motion used to dispense with the operation of the rules.

Take from the Table: a motion used to revive a tabled motion for consideration. This motion is in order only under a suspension of the rules.

It should be remembered that these are simplified definitions of a few motions and questions; a classroom legislature may make up its own rules or refer to a guide like *Robert's Rules of Order* for more complete guidance.

LOBBYING

BACKGROUND

"Lobbying" is often used disparagingly to describe efforts to influence decision-making by the use of bribery or improper influence. However, lobbying is trying to persuade someone and is something we all do whenever we try to convince someone to do what we want them to do. Children lobby parents for bigger allowances. Students lobby teachers for better grades. Teachers lobby school boards for smaller classes. School boards lobby state legislatures for more state aid. State legislatures lobby Congress for federal aid for disadvantaged students. Members of Congress lobby each other for support for the issues that concern them.

This is a beginning lesson about how to persuade a governmental body to act on your concern.

Before beginning the exercise of picking an issue, take a brief look at some groups that have been effective in making their voices heard. Leaving aside your agreement or disagreement with their stands on issues, note that they are all well organized and they focus their efforts on specific issues.

M.A.D.D. (Mothers Against Drunk Driving)—stiff penalties to stop driving when drinking.

NRA (National Rifle Association)—no restrictions on possession of guns.

Right-to-Life—outlaw all abortions.

(This is also an opportunity to digress to a discussion about the good and bad effects on the general electoral and governmental systems of the political power of groups whose interests are narrowly focused rather than being concerned more generally about the public welfare.)

The teacher may decide or may consult with the class about the amount of effort they want to put into this. Will they just outline a strategy for a lobbying campaign on an issue OR is the class actually going to implement the strategy after it is outlined?

Members of Congress, the Ohio General Assembly, city or village council, or board of education have so many different questions to deal with that they cannot

possibly become expert or spend a lot of time on every one of them. So they may need a nudge to get them committed to your concern.

A letter will help, especially if it is brief, well organized, and to the point. Several letters, individually thought out and written, will help more. A petition may help quite a little, especially if the people signing it really understand what they are signing. A public official needs to be convinced that lots of constituents care about this problem, perhaps even enough of them to affect his or her ability to raise money and get re-elected. In addition to sharing your concern, the official also needs information to be able to carry the fight for your concern.

This lesson is an excellent opportunity to afford students a practical example of the direct link between careful research and organized presentation of findings with action. To quote an old political saying: Action without study is fatal; study without action is futile.

OBJECTIVES

Students will explore issues of concern to them and how those issues are affected by government.

Students will research an issue and prepare information about it.

Students will prepare an action plan on an issue that concerns them.

Students will be exposed to the way the political system deals with issues in the real world.

Students will participate in a group process as a way of reaching group consensus.

PREPARATION

1. Read the following description of the suggested process and the simplified example of the process for choosing an issue.

This lesson can be approached in either of two ways: a hypothetical exercise planning a campaign to accomplish something that is a concern of the students, or as a real campaign to address a concern of the class. In either case, it will be more effective if the concern is real, but this is less critical if the plan is not going to be implemented.

The first, critical step is helping the class to pick a real, substantive concern that they think is important enough to spend a significant amount of time and effort to resolve, but that is manageable. That is, they cannot resolve the threat of nuclear war, but they might want to address specific amendments to a local curfew ordinance. Are there issues that have arisen recently in Congress, the Ohio General Assembly, the local village or city council, or the local board of education that have aroused student interest or concern? Would students benefit from conducting a careful study of any of these issues?

2. Review "Researching an Issue" under Activities. Draft your own Research Worksheet, using the example at the end of this section as a start. Make copies for students use.

3. Review "Implementing an Action Plan" under Activities. Draft your own Action Worksheet, using the example at the end of this section as a start. Make copies for student use.

4. Review the rest of the materials on lobbying and prepare lesson plans.

ACTIVITIES

1. Use background material to discuss how students can get the political system to address issues that are of concern to them.

Selecting an Issue

2. Have students brainstorm to compile a list of issues that are real concerns of theirs. List their issues on the blackboard. Do not allow negative comments at this point, because seemingly irrelevant or off-the-wall suggestions may spark additional ideas of others. (See process outline under Resources. It may be helpful to use some of the topics listed there to get the students started.)

3. With student help, try to combine their topics into general themes to see if there are some general concerns that have been expressed in slightly different terms. Comment and criticism are appropriate at this stage.

4. Refine some of these general concerns by trying to pinpoint the specific concern that they have in a general area. Comment and criticism are appropriate.

5. Help students make a short list of issues that are real concerns of these students. For each of the issues on this short list, help the students formulate exactly what it is that they want done to solve this problem or address this concern.

6. Help the students select the one issue that is of most pressing concern to them and that they can most appropriately and effectively address. For example, it is easier to affect an issue that can be addressed at the state level than one that must be addressed at the national level; it is easier to affect a local issue than a statewide issue.

Researching an Issue

7. With student help, prepare a list of questions that need to be researched before taking action on the chosen issue. These could then be prepared as a work sheet such as that on page 106. The students could work on finding answers individually, then pooling their information in class; or they could be divided into committees, with each committee researching one or more of the questions and reporting to the class.

8. Have students research the questions. This could involve a variety of sources: the public library for newspaper and magazine articles and books on the subject; interviews (in person or by phone) with appropriate public officials, experts, concerned citizens; surveys of student and/or public opinion.

9. Help the class compile the information they have gathered into a concise, well organized report.

10. Help the class write a plan of action to bring their concern to the attention of the proper authorities and gain favorable action on it.

Implementing An Action Plan

At this point a decision must be made whether the class project ends here or whether they undertake to implement their action plan. This decision will be affected by their level of interest and the other demands on the time of students and teacher, as well as the time remaining in the school year, other demands on class time, and appropriateness of the timing relative to the calendar of the officials being asked to deal with this concern. (For example, it might not be possible to pursue implementation at the end of the school year or during the same period of time when the class is organizing a schoolwide election or mock convention.)

If interest is high and time is available, go for it! Real-world experience is marvelously effective education.

HELPFUL HINTS

If you are getting absolutely no response to this project from the students, it may be futile to pursue it. It simply will not work without student participation and enthusiasm. If they don't care, effective action is not possible.

On the other hand, if only a few students get genuinely interested during the research phase, try to work out a way for those few to follow through. With a little support from the teacher, they may be able to implement the action plan on their own.

A guest speaker who has been actively involved in an issue may spark the interest of the class by helping them see how exciting such a campaign can be. Stress to the speaker that the class doesn't need to know so much about the speaker's issue, but it needs to feel the excitement of the process—What did you do? How did you do it? What obstacles did you encounter? What did you accomplish (even if you lost)? What would you do differently? Do you have any funny or interesting anecdotes?

MEASUREMENTS

The research the individual students or committees do are miniature research papers. The written or oral presentations can be evaluated both for content and for form. At the end of the process, students could be asked to evaluate the process: what did they learn about the issue, about the political process, about how groups work together on a project? This combines an essay test with an evaluation that would help improve the process the next time.

FOLLOW-UP

Keep the class research report and the report on the implementation of the action plan, if any. Keep newspaper stories about the issue and discuss them in class. Encourage the students to report back to the class anything that relates to the issue or the process they learned in researching or acting on the issue.

These could be as diverse as newspaper stories about controversies over science research that may have been faked, the validity of a public opinion poll on some controversial issue, a student's using something learned from this project in another class or in a situation outside of school, or a summer job obtained by a student through someone met while researching or lobbying on the issue. The point is to demonstrate how much they now know about an issue and about the political process and to show that you can never predict when someone or something you know is helpful in a totally different context.

RESOURCES

In the process of researching the issue and planning an action campaign, the students will (we hope) encounter concerned citizens, experts, and sympathetic officials. Invite some of these people to address the class. They can explain more about the issue and about dealing with opponents and with officals. Let the students who have talked with the resource persons make the arrangements and introduce them to the class.

SELECTING AN ISSUE: PROCESS OUTLINE

BRAINSTORMING

drugs
paddling
city curfew
drinking age
driving age
car insurance
homelessness
terrorism
school discipline
speed limits
minimum wage
gang fights
jobs for teens
college tuition
college aid
drunk driving

COMBINING
(Do the ideas listed above fall into broad catagories?)

paddling, school discipline, curfew, gang fights — student problems

drugs, drinking age, drunk driving, driving age, car insurance, speed limits, homeless — social problems

minimum wage, teen jobs, college tuition, college aid — student opportunity

terrorism—international problem

REFINING
(What are specific concerns on these subjects that we can deal with?)
1. School detentions are not assigned fairly; some students get "picked on".

2. Some students get picked up for curfew violation on the way home from jobs.

3. Students cannot get jobs, and do not know where nor how to find jobs.

SOLUTIONS
(What do we want done about our concerns?)

1. Set up a student/teacher/parent committee to work out a set of guidelines for determining disciplinary procedures.

2. Amend the curfew ordinance to allow students to be out after curfew if they have a note from parents to participate in a specific activity or if they have a note from employer that they work until after curfew.

3. Set up a job bank in school where area employers can send notices of job openings and where students can learn how to find a job.

SELECTION
Select one of these solutions. Which one is most important to us and with which one can we be most effective?

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 1989

Dropping Trays

Thomas Paine has sparked another revolution of sorts. In a current-events class studying Paine and his attack on colonial inequities, Tanja Vogt, a 15-year-old sophomore at West Milford High School in New Jersey, wrote a paper advocating an end to the use of polystyrene trays in the school cafeteria because they do not decompose. A class project began. Students persuaded their friends to pay an extra nickel to cover the added cost of paper trays. With other New Jersey schools picking up the drive, Miss Vogt and three others will appear tomorrow at an environmental forum at the United Nations to discuss their campaign. If someone believes in something, she said, "it can be successful, because just one person has to start, and it will keep going."

RESEARCH WORKSHEET

Statement of the Issue: _____

_____

Desired Solution: _____

_____

Appropriate Level/s and Officials of Government: _____

Why is this the appropriate level: _____

_____

FACT

What is the need and the reasons for it?

What are the benefits?

What are the estimated costs (money, staff, environmental, other)?

Has this been done elsewhere? Where?

What were the benefits? Costs? What was the opposition?
If it has not been done elsewhere, why not?

SUPPORT

What are the reasons for doing what we want done?

Who supports us (groups, individuals)?

News reports, studies, polls, experts that support our position.

OPPOSITION

What are the reasons for opposing what we want done?

How can those reasons be answered?

Who opposes us (groups, individuals)?

News reports, studies, polls, experts that oppose our position.

ACTION WORKSHEET

Appropriate level/s of Government.

Why is this the appropriate level?

Whom do we need to persuade?

Where do they stand on this issue?

What do we know about this governmental body?

How are members chosen?
What is their structure and process for dealing with issues?
What do we know about the members of this body?
Who knows them?
How do we influence them? (Letters, petitions, interviews, testimony, other?)

What groups, individuals support us?

What do we want them to do?
How do we get them to do it?

What groups, individuals oppose us?

What will they do?
How do we diminish, eliminate, counteract, neutralize their influence on this issue?

PLAN OF ACTION

Date	Action to be taken	Person/Group responsible
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		

(Keep adding and amending as you go along.)

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR

BACKGROUND

People who are directly involved in preparing for presidential primary elections, the selection of delegates to national political conventions, presidential general elections, and the convening of the electoral college find the intricacies of these processes intriguing and challenging. Most other people find it all a crashing bore. The presidential election process is one of the lessons that students do not recall when asked what their high school government course covered.

Inclusion of a schoolwide mock convention in the spring of presidential election years can transform this lesson from a sleeper into an experience that students will long remember. By including the whole student body, those students who are not yet enrolled in American government classes will be able to bring their experience as participants in the mock convention to their study of the nomination process when they are seniors.

The electoral college is one of the hidden mysteries of American government. (It is also one of the most widely mispronounced. The word is "e-lec'-to-ral," not "e-lec-tor'-i-al". There is no "i" in either the spelling or the pronunciation . Pronouncing it correctly increases the speaker's credibility; if mispronounced, it raises the suspicion that the speaker does not know what he or she is talking about.) The electoral college and all interest in it lie dormant for 3 years and 11 months, then in mid-November of years divisible by 4, the questions resurface. When does it meet? Where? How are the electors chosen? What would happen if? The answers to all of these questions and more are presented in this material.

While a good deal of this unit is straight information-giving, both delegate selection and the Electoral College are subjects that lend themselves to class discussion and debate because they are not settled issues.

The political parties can and do change their delegate selection rules when they like. Therefore students can not only compare the procedures used by the Democratic and Republican parties in Ohio, but they can speculate about what effects changes in those procedures might produce.

The Electoral College is as old as the U.S. Constitution, but has been affected by amendments and has been the subject of debate since its inception. Students can enter that debate, consider the various changes that have been proposed and argue the merits and effects of each. They often find especially intriguing the "what ifs" of a third-party candidate throwing the election into the House of Representatives.

A great deal of the instruction about government is necessarily a rather dry recitation of the powers and duties of the different offices and levels of government. Delegate selection and the Electoral College are two areas in which there is still change and sometimes heated discussion. We have not settled on a single "best" way to select convention delegates. We do not have unanimity on the Electoral College. We do not even know for sure what would happen under some circumstances. Students often find it refreshing that there are questions for which the textbook has no answers.

OBJECTIVES

1. Given information on delegate selection, students will compare differing ways delegates are selected for national conventions of major political parties.

2. Students will compare the current electoral college system with alternatives.

3. Students will experience the process of preparing and conducting a mock national nominating convention.

PREPARATION

This information can be presented as a lecture or as handouts to the students. It is useful to separate delegate selection from the electoral college, because people often confuse the two. It is recommended that delegate selection be discussed in the spring of the year, any time from February through May. It could be taught in September. Either time could culminate in a student-conducted mock convention. A person who has attended a national convention of either political party would be a good speaker. Get in touch with such delegate or alternate well ahead of time (ask your Democratic or Republican county chair for suggestions).

The electoral college is best presented from mid November to mid December to coincide with the preparation and conduct of the college itself. The meeting of the electoral college is open to the public, but if a class is planning to attend, the Secretary of State should be notified to assure seating.

ACTIVITIES

Delegate Selection

1. Distribute copies of "The Nominating Process in Federal Elections" and "Ohio Delegate Selection Process" before the discussion.

2. Introduce a former delegate as a guest speaker; or review and expand on the nominating process, spurring discussion on changes that students would make and why they would make them.

* Which delegate selection plan do you prefer, the Democratic or the Republican? Why? Which is more open, easier to become a delegate? How?
* Do you prefer caucus, convention, or primary election? Which is easier to control? Which is more representative? Which is more likely to nominate someone who can win the general election?
* Are national political conventions decision-making bodies? Should they be? Why or why not?
* Help the class put on a schoolwide mock convention (see Mock Convention in Resources.)

Electoral College

1. Distribute "Who Will Elect the President?"; "Electing the President"; and "Ohio Electoral College" before the discussion.

2. Divide the class into groups to explain and defend alternatives to the electoral college system:

* present electoral college system
* automatic distribution of electoral votes, winner-take-all by state
* direct election by popular vote
* proportional distribution of electoral votes based on statewide vote
* district winner-take-all

3. Discuss other problems of the electoral college:

* "faithless" electors
* candidate who dies between election day and electoral college
* candidate who dies between electoral college and inaugural day

4. Have class attend the meeting of the electoral college, or invite a member or former member of the electoral college to describe his or her experiences.

MEASUREMENT

1. Discussion and arguments on delegate selection methods, national conventions, and the electoral college and its proposed alternatives.

2. Participation, written and oral presentations, organizational work in preparing and conducting a mock convention.

3. Quiz on delegate selection: Which method of delegate selection do you favor—caucus, convention, primary election? Defend your answer.

4. Quiz on electoral college: Which method of selecting the President do you favor—the present electoral college system; an automatic distribution of electoral votes by state, winner-take-all; direct popular election; proportional distribution of electoral votes based on statewide returns; winner-take-all by congressional district? Defend your answer.

RESOURCES

Ask county political chairs for names (and addresses and phone numbers) of people who have been delegates or alternates to their national conventions. Invite one or more to speak to the class and to answer questions about their experiences.

* Do delegates really decide anything or just rubber-stamp decisions that have all already been made?
* Is there any opportunity for discussion or debate on the floor or in caucuses?
* Is it hard work or mostly fun?
* Outline an average day's activities.
* What would you change and how—selection, convention, rules, etc.?

Materials

On the following pages are a variety of materials that can be reproduced for distribution to students and serve as the basis of discussion. The final item is a detailed outline for conducting a schoolwide mock convention.

"The Nominating Process in Federal Elections"
"Ohio Delegate Selection Process"
"Who Will Elect the President?"
"Electing the President"
"Ohio Electoral College"
Mock Election

THE NOMINATING PROCESS IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS: A LOOK BACK AT 1988

by Kevin Coleman, Government Division
Congressional Research Services
Library of Congress

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One of the most important functions of political parties is nominating candidates for public office. In the decentralized American political process wherein the States oversee elections, nominating procedures reflect the differences in the character and development of the State political parties. Indeed, the diversity of the electoral process is nowhere more evident than in the different methods used to nominate candidates throughout the various States and in the different rules that govern participation in those nominating contests.

The quadrennial presidential election adds yet another complexity to the nomination process. For in addition to choosing nominees for Congressional, State, and local offices, voters also help in selecting nominees for the Presidency—a process which entails electing national convention delegates from both parties in each State. Presidential nominees are chosen at their respective party's national conventions by delegates who were in turn, elected either directly or indirectly in the primaries and caucuses of each State. In contrast, most congressional candidates are nominated simply by winning a majority or plurality vote in their jurisdiction's direct primary (although a few States still nominate such candidates in party conventions).

The congressional and the presidential nomination processes also differ with regard to participation. Congressional primary participation is subject largely to the provisions of the State election code. Participation in presidential primaries and caucuses is contingent on national and State party rules, as well as State law.

Consequently, the nomination season in a presidential election year best illustrates the complexity of the two party, multi-State rules and regulations that govern the American electoral process.

CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATING PROCEDURES

Most States nominate congressional candidates in direct primary elections, although a few States allow for conventions either as an alternative to the primary or in conjunction with a primary. States differ considerably, however, in who is permitted to cast a ballot in the party primary. There are four types of primaries:

* A CLOSED PRIMARY allows only registered voters who are members of a party to vote in that party's primary election. Closed primaries are conducted in 27 States, the vast majority of which require voters to indicate a party preference when they register. (Ohio has a closed primary, but the voter indicates party preference by requesting a party's ballot, not when registering.)

* AN OPEN PRIMARY is one in which any registered voter, regardless of party affiliation, may vote in either party's primary. Open primaries occur in 20 States.

* A BLANKET PRIMARY is one with a combined ballot, in which registered voters have the option of voting for candidates in either party (but not both) for each particular office. Blanket primaries are conducted only in Alaska and Washington.

* A UNITARY PRIMARY is one in which all candidates of all parties are listed on a single ballot. Any candidate who receives more than 50 percent of the vote in the primary is elected and does not appear on the general election ballot. If no candidate receives more than 50 percent, the general election is a run-off between the top two vote getters, regardless of their party. Only Louisiana conducts the unitary primary.

For States in which a party holds a convention in conjunction with a primary, or nominates candidates exclusively in a convention, the requirements for participation vary. The conditions for calling a convention differ, as well. Some State parties may convene a convention to slate primary candidates, to nominate a candidate if the primary winner has what is deemed an insufficient plurality, or to exercise some other power related to nominations. The following States provide for conventions: Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois (for nominating trustees of the University of Illinois only), Indiana , Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, New Mexico (minor parties), New York, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah and Virginia.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING PROCEDURES

The rules for participation in the presidential nominating process may differ from those which govern participation in congressional primaries. Specifically, the national Democratic party and various Republican State parties restrict participation to party members. Because only 27 States register voters by party, parties in the remaining States may impose some method by which voters declare their affiliation as a condition for participation. The registration statutes and the delegate selection method in each State indicate whether there are additional "party declaration" provisions for either party.

As with voter registration, delegate selection methods vary from State to State and between parties within the same State. If a State has party registration, it is likely that no additional requirements for participation will be imposed in either party's delegate selection contest. However, if no formal means exist to identify party members, the parties may have their own rules on party membership.

Texas, for example, conducts a presidential preference primary and has no party registration. The Democrats do not choose delegates in the primary, but the results of the presidential vote determine the division of delegates among the candidates. On the evening of the primary, the party convenes caucuses as the first step in selecting delegates. Participation is limited to voters who cast a Democratic ballot in the primary. Casting a Democratic ballot thus constitutes party membership in this case.

State parties use one of five different methods to choose national convention delegates, as summarized below:

* A Caucus/Convention system consists of one to four tiers. As a general rule, grassroots participation is at the first tier, at which representatives to the next tier are elected, and so on. Delegates may be chosen at any of the subsequent tiers.

* A direct primary election is one in which the district delegates are listed on the ballot (usually by presidential preference) and voters mark the ballot for the number of delegates to be elected from the jurisdiction.

* A pre-primary caucus slates district delegates, who are subsequently elected on the basis of the vote for president in the primary. (Ohio uses a modified version of this method.)

* A post-primary caucus is held after the primary to elect the number of delegates a presidential candidate has won on the basis of the primary vote.

* A two-part primary requires the voter to mark the ballot for presidential preference, and again for individual delegates within the preference.

Although it is difficult to generalize about a system that comprises different national and State party rules and a matrix of State laws, there are a few principle characteristics common to both parties. In no case are all of a State's delegates chosen in the first event, whether a primary or a caucus. The results of the first event often determine the division of delegates among presidential candidates in subsequent events. The expression of presidential preference is crucial for dividing delegates on the Democratic side, and therefore first event participants invariably register their preference in one way or another. Republicans generally follow the same rule, although in some States, the expression of preference is not a formal part of the process.

Categories of delegates

There are two types of Republican national convention delegates that may be selected by primary or caucus participants; the Democrats have three categories: congressional district delegates, at-large delegates, and pledged party and elected official delegates. The latter two categories are usually selected in the same manner.

The categories of delegates are usually chosen at two distinct delegate selection events—district delegates at a district event, and at-large delegates (and for Democrats, pledged party and elected official delegates) at a representative State event. For instance, in a direct primary, the voters elect district delegates, while other categories are chosen later by State convention, the State Committee, or at some other "State" event. In a caucus or preference primary, no national convention delegates are actually chosen. The delegates are chosen later, usually in a manner that reflects the presidential preference of the primary or caucus participants.

Allocating delegates

Although most national convention delegates are not actually elected in the first event, the results of it, with few exceptions, ultimately determine how many delegates a presidential candidate earns.

Depending on the State, Democrats and Republicans use two similar methods of apportioning their district delegates:

* Direct election allocates delegates according to their respective vote totals. The delegates with the most votes, regardless of preference, are elected.

* Proportional representation divides delegates among presidential preferences proportionally, either on the basis of the primary vote for presidential candidates or the number of caucus participants for each presidential candidate proportionate to the entire caucus.

Each party may also use a third method, different from one another.

— Democrats use the Bonus delegate method which awards the first delegate to the presidential candidate with the most votes at the primary or the most supporters at the caucus, and divides the rest proportionally among candidates.

— Republicans use a Winner-take-all method which awards all the delegates to the presidential candidate with the most primary preference votes.

As for delegates above the district level, the Democrats divide pledged party and elected official delegates either by proportional representation using the statewide primary results, by preferences at the State convention, or else by the division of preferences amongst the district delegates. In States where at-large delegates are allocated according to preference, Republicans divide theirs either by proportional representation or winner-take-all, both based on the statewide primary results.

THE CALENDAR

Despite their differences, it would seem logical to hold congressional and presidential primaries simultaneously in order both to limit the cost of elections and to simplify the calendar. For a variety of reasons, however, most States hold these contests on different days.

The congressional primary calendar, which runs from mid-March to September, accommodates incumbent officeholders by scheduling most contests during the summer months when lawmakers are less preoccupied with legislative business. Because the expansion of the campaign period in recent years has been the subject of much criticism, the congressional calendar has the added benefit of compressing the election cycle. In addition, nominees with limited campaign funds may benefit if there is residual voter interest from a late primary that extends to the general election campaign. Finally, State and local primaries are often held along with the congressional primary, so that the date has become institutionalized for all candidates and communities across the State.

As for the presidential nomination calendar, the impelling force is in the opposite direction—toward earlier events. The accelerated dynamic of nominating contests in recent years has seen candidates begin their efforts well in advance of the election year. States have reinforced this trend by moving primary and caucus dates to earlier points in the election year. This "front loading" process offers States greater opportunity to attract candidate and media attention, and with it, opportunity for greater political influence and financial benefit.

A State may also choose to advance its date for purely political reasons if, for example, the field includes a "native son" candidate. The candidate who can count on a victory to boost his candidacy early in the season has an advantage, considering the trend in modern presidential races to narrow the field quickly after only a few contests.

The very structure of the presidential nomination process may also necessitate an early start. The delegate selection process is comprised of a series of events, initially either a primary or a caucus. In most cases, regular party members express their preference for a Presidential candidate in the first event, while the delegates are chosen subsequently. In order to accomodate this pyramidal structure of selecting delegates prior to the national conventions in July and August, first step primaries and caucuses are clustered in early spring.

CONCLUSION

The nominating process in federal elections attests to the decentralized nature of American national elections, the diversity of the national and State parties, and the varied political cultures of the States. The resulting calendar reflects the complexity of those events, statutes, and rules.

Number of Delegates in the 1988 National Party Conventions

	Democratic*	Republican
AL	65	38
AK	17	19
AZ	43	33
AR	48	27
CA	363	175
CO	55	36
CT	63	35
DE	19	17
DC	25	14
FL	154	82
GA	94	48
HI	28	20
ID	24	22
IL	200	92
IN	89	51
IA	61	37
KS	45	34
KY	65	38
LA	76	41
ME	29	22
MD	84	41
MA	119	52
MI	162	77
MN	91	31
MS	47	31
MO	88	47
MT	28	20
NE	30	25
NV	23	20
NH	22	23
NJ	125	64
NM	30	26
NY	292	136
NC	95	54
ND	22	16
OH	183	88
OK	56	36
OR	54	32
PA	202	96
RI	28	21
SC	53	37
SD	20	18
TN	84	45
TX	212	111
UT	28	26
VT	20	17
VA	86	50
WA	77	41
WV	47	28
WI	91	47
WY	18	18
AS	6	0
GU	4	4
PR	57	14
VI	5	4
DA**	9	0
Total:	4161	2277

*Includes "super delegates" apportioned to the States
**DA: Democrats Abroad

ELECTION EVENTS OF 1988

	Congressional Events		*Presidential Events*		
	PRIMARY	RUNOFF	DATE	PARTY	EVENT
Alabama	June 7	June 28	March 8	D & R	Primary
Alaska	August 23		February 27	R	Caucus
			March 10	D	Caucus
Arizona	September 13		April 16	D	Caucus
			April 23	R	Caucus
Arkansas	March 8	March 22	March 8	D & R	Primary
California	June 7		June 7	D & R	Primary
Colorado	August 9		April 4	D & R	Caucus
Connecticut	September 14		March 29	D & R	Primary
Delaware	September 10		April 1-30	R	Caucus
			May 16	D	Caucus
District of Columbia	May 3		May 3	D & R	Primary
Florida	September 6	October 4	March 8	D & R	Primary
Georgia	August 9	August 30	March 8	D & R	Primary
Hawaii	September 17		February 4	R	Caucus
			March 8	D	Caucus
Idaho	May 24		March 8	D	Caucus
			May 24	R	Primary
Illinois	March 15		March 15	D & R	Primary
Indiana	May 3		May 3	D & R	Primary
Iowa	June 7		February 8	D & R	Caucus
Kansas	August 2		February 1-7	R	Caucus
			March 19	D	Caucus
Kentucky	May 24		March 8	D & R	Primary
Louisiana	October 1	November 8	March 8	D & R	Primary
Maine	June 14		February 26-28	R	Caucus
			February 28	D	Caucus
Maryland	March 8		March 8	D & R	Primary
Massachusetts	September 20		March 8	D & R	Primary
Michigan	August 2		January 29-30	R	Convention
			March 26	D	Caucus
Minnesota	September 13		February 23	D & R	Caucus
Mississippi	March 8	March 29	March 8	D & R	Primary
Missouri	August 2		March 8	D & R	Primary

	Congressional Events		*Presidential Events*		
	PRIMARY	RUNOFF	DATE	PARTY	EVENT
Montana	June 7		June 7	D & R	Primary
Nebraska	May 10		May 3	D & R	Primary
Nevada	September 6		February 18	R	Caucus
			March 8	D	Caucus
New Hampshire	September 13		February 16	D & R	Primary
New Jersey	June 7		June 7	D & R	Primary
New Mexico	June 7		June 7	D & R	Primary
New York	September 13		April 19	D & R	Primary
North Carolina	May 3	May 31	March 8	D & R	Primary
North Dakota	June 14		March 13	D	Caucus
			June 14	R	Primary
Ohio	May 3		May 3	D & R	Primary
Oklahoma	August 23	September 20	March 8	D & R	Primary
Oregon	May 17		March 17	D & R	Primary
Pennsylvania	April 26		April 26	D & R	Primary
Rhode Island	September 14		March 8	D & R	Primary
South Carolina	June 14	June 28	March 5	R	Primary
			March 12	D	Caucus
South Dakota	June 7		February 23	D & R	Primary
Tennessee	August 4		March 8	D & R	Primary
Texas	March 8	April 12	March 8	D & R	Primary
Utah	September 13		April 25	D	Caucus
			April 26	R	Caucus
Vermont	September 13		April 19	D & R	Caucus
Virginia	June 14		January-May	R	Caucus
			March 8	D	Primary
Washington	September 20		March 8	D & R	Caucus
West Virginia	May 10		May 3	D & R	Primary
Wisconsin	September 13		April 5	D & R	Primary
Wyoming	August 16		February 9-24	R	Caucus
			March 5	D	Caucus
Amer. Samoa			March 8	D	Caucus
Dems. Abroad			March 11	D	Primary
Guam			April 24	D & R	Caucus
Puerto Rico			March 20	D & R	Primary
Virgin Islands			April 2	D	Caucus

OHIO DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS, 1988

The methods of determining which presidential candidates' names will appear on the primary ballot vary widely from state to state. In some states, the chief election officer or a small number of elected officials or the state party chairs determine which candidates are sufficiently well-known to be listed. In others, the presidential candidates qualify for the ballot like any other candidate, by filling petitions with a certain number of signatures or by paying a filing fee or both.

Ohio is unusual in that the presidential candidate files nothing. Everyone who wishes to be a delegate or alternate files in February a declaration of candidacy statement; a petition signed by 150-450 voters for district delegate, 1000-3000 for at-large; and the written consent of the presidential candidate whom they want to support.

Only the names of presidential candidates appear on the ballot. The names of the delegates do not appear on the ballot, but a vote for a presidential candidate is counted as a vote for all the delegates pledged to that candidate.

As in every state, the Ohio rules for selecting delegates to national conventions are a combination of federal laws, state laws, and political party rules.

Ohio law requires that delegates be elected. Party rules can change from election to election, and the rules differ between the Democrat and Republican parties. Democrats who wish to be delegates must file with the state party and be approved by the presidential candidate they want to represent, then be nominated by a district caucus of supporters of that candidate held in early February. Republican delegate nominating procedures are more informal, with potential delegates notifying their county party chair of their interest in representing their choice of presidential candidate at the convention.

Each political party in Ohio must publish and make available its rules and a clear and concise explanation of how the voters of the party can participate in the delegate selection process. This information can be obtained in presidential election years from the parties by writing or calling:

Ohio Democratic Party
88 East Broad Street, # 1920
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614/221-6563

Republican State Headquarters
172 East State Street, # 401
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614/228-2481

In 1988 the Democratic National Committee allotted 174 delegates and 53 alternates to Ohio. Of the 174 delegates, 104 were district delegates, with 4 to 7 elected from each congressional district, and 34 were at-large (statewide) delegates. These 138 delegates were pledged to presidential candidates. The remaining 36 delegates were party and elected officials, both pledged and unpledged. Democratic at-large delegates were allocated to the presidential candidates in proportion to the statewide primary vote received; district delegates were elected according to the bonus method.

The Republican National Committee allotted 88 delegates and 88 alternates to Ohio. Of the 88 delegates, 3 were from each of the 21 congressional districts, and 25 were at-large (statewide). Republican at-large delegates were all awarded to the statewide primary winner; district delegates being awarded to the winner in each district.

Independent candidates for President and Vice President file petitions with at least 5000 signatures in late August. Write-in candidates file a statement of intent to be a write-in by late September.

The delegate selection process in Ohio is complex. Of all the 11 presidential candidates whose names were on the May 1988 primary ballot in Ohio only 4 qualified for the ballot in all 21 congressional districts.

WHO WILL ELECT THE PRESIDENT? THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM

Reprinted with permission from the League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1730 M Street, Washington, DC 20036.

Every four years, the Electoral College, a little known feature of our Constitution, enjoys a fleeting moment of glory. About six weeks after the long grind of the presidential election is over, the 538 members of the college meet in their respective states to perform their sole constitutional function: to elect the President and the Vice-President of the United States.

But the impact of the college on presidential elections is far greater—and more controversial—than its brief life indicates. For example, many knowledgeable observers of American politics attribute the predominance of two major parties to the winner-take-all feature of the college's state-based system: in all but one state,* losing candidates, whether they get two million or two votes, get no electors. As a result, small parties and less well known candidates seldom have had a chance to affect the outcome of an election directly. The usual effect of so-called "third-force" candidates is to take votes from one major party candidate in a close race, tipping the results to the other major party candidate. But if a third or fourth candidate does manage to carry at least one state and some electoral votes—and that has happened in four elections since 1900—then he or she may have a huge impact—partly because the House of Representatives gets to choose the President (and the Senate, the Vice-President) if the Electoral College can't produce an absolute majority.

Politicians and pundits disagree as to whether the college favors small states, or whether it gives an indirect advantage to rural areas or to ethnic minority clusters in populous states. They disagree over its value as a preserver of federalism or as an impediment to the principle of one-person, one-vote. All observers agree, however, that every four years the voters of America need to be reminded of the ins and outs of the Electoral College system before they cast their ballot for President.

HOW IT WORKS

Americans choose their President in a complicated series of steps that have evolved from Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, through various amendments, federal and state laws, political party rules and traditions.

The Constitution authorizes each state to appoint a number of electors equal to the number of representatives plus senators that the state has in Congress. To this total of 435 plus 100, the Twenty-third Amendment added three for the District of Columbia—the same number of electors as the least populous state—bringing the total of the college to 538 members.

The Constitution is silent on how a state is to choose its electors. In the early years, legislatures adopted several methods: appointment by the legislature, election by the people on a statewide basis, or a combination of these methods. But by 1836, almost every state was using a popular vote system.

On election day, when voters in each state go to the polls, each one casts a ballot for the slate of presidential electors who are pledged to support the candidate the voter prefers. These slates have been selected by political parties, through conventions, committees or primaries. When a candidate is not the nominee of a party, the slate is named through a petition filed with a required number of signatures. In over half the states, only the names of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates appear on the ballot, masking the fact that voters are choosing electors rather than voting directly for the candidates. In the other states, both candidates and electors are identified.

The winning slate of electors meets in each state on the Monday following the second Wednesday in December, a date set by federal statute. Two ballots are taken, with each elector casting one vote for the President and one vote for the Vice-President. Electors almost always vote for the candidates to whom they have been pledged. The Constitution, however, does not bind them to do so, and in fact an independent elector is what the Framers had in mind when they first designed the college (see box: Why the Framers Set Up the Electoral College). Since 1789, there have been few so-called "faithless" electors who have not cast their ballots for the candidates they were expected to support. To date the vote of a faithless elector has never changed the outcome of an election; but concern about this possibility has led one-third of the states to enact laws binding electors. Congress, however, has not acted to restrict electors' freedom to vote as they please; some observers believe Congress does not have the power to do so.

Results of the mid-December vote in each state are sent to Congress to be counted on January 6, in the presence of the newly elected Senate and House of Representatives. If one candidate for the office of President (and one candidate for the office of Vice-President) gets 270 votes—a majority of the total number of 538 electors—a President has been elected.

**Maine is the only state that allocates electoral votes in proportion to the percentage of the popular vote each candidate receives.*

If it is apparent after the November election that no candidate is assured of a majority of electors' votes, the period from the general election to the December vote of the Electoral College may become a time of intense political horse-trading. A candidate who has only a few electoral votes may use those votes as bargaining chips with other candidates in exchange for influence over their policies and appointments. George Wallace, running for President in 1968, expected to play that role, but when Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate, won a clear-cut electoral majority, Wallace's bargaining power was lost.

Elections in the House and Senate

The Twelfth Amendment clarifies the procedures for so-called "contingent elections"—those that are thrown into the House and Senate for lack of an Electoral College majority.

The following rules regulate the House's choice of the President:

* Only the top three vote-getters in the electoral college are to be considered.

* Regardless of its population and number of representatives, each state delegation in the House has only one vote, for a total of 50 votes. The District of Columbia, which sends a nonvoting delegate to the House, has no vote.

* The state's choice is determined by a vote within its delegation. If that vote is a tie, the state loses its vote.

* A winning candidate must receive the votes of a majority—26—of states.

* There is no limit to the number of ballots in the House. If the House fails to choose a President by Inauguration Day, January 20th, the Twentieth Amendment requires that the Vice-President-elect, provided that the Senate has chosen one, serve as President until the House makes its choice.

The Senate follows these rules in its selection of the Vice-President.

* The choice is between the top two vice presidential vote-getters in the Electoral College.

* Each senator has one vote, for a total of 100 votes (no vote for the District of Columbia).

* A Vice-President must be elected by a majority—51—of the whole Senate.

If the Senate also fails to elect a Vice-President, the Succession Act of 1948 provides that the Speaker of the House shall act as President until a President is chosen. This law was enacted under authority given to the Congress by the Twentieth Amendment.

Although the procedures for the way the House and Senate vote are set by the Constitution, there are no rules governing how individual members of Congress vote in such contingent elections in the House and Senate. Members are free to vote as they please within their state's delegation. It is conceivable, under these circumstances, that the House might select a President of one party and the Senate, a Vice-President of the other.

The Electoral College:
Pros and Cons

The Electoral College has been the subject of much discussion over the years. It lacks neither supporters nor critics.

Opponents of the college call it undemocratic. They say it functions in contradiction to the one-person, one-vote principle, by giving each state at least three votes, even though on a straight population basis, some states might be entitled to only one or two. If the choice of a President goes to the House of Representatives, where each state has only one vote, the election becomes even further removed from the equality-of-population principle. These critics point out that in a contingent election, the single representative from the least populous state has a vote that carries 45 times more weight than that of a representative from the state of California, the most populous state, with the largest number of representatives. There are six states with only one representative.

Supporters of the college argue that the principle of one-person, one-vote should not pertain to the college, just as it does not pertain to the U.S. Senate. They point out that the college was designed to underscore the federal nature of the U.S. government. The college, they argue, recognizes and embodies the delicate balance between the powers of the states and the powers of the central government. Other supporters believe that the seeming bias towards the small states may not be real. Because of the winner-take-all rule, a small margin of victory in California, New York, Illinois or Texas gets a much larger block of electoral votes than could be won by large popular majorities in any number of small states.

Why the Framers Set Up the Electoral College

It was desirable that the sense of the people should operate in the choice of (the President). This end will be answered by committing the right of making (the choice) not to any pre-established body, but to men chosen by the people for the special purpose, and at the particular conjuncture.

It was equally desirable that the immediate election should be made by men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation, and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements which were proper to govern their choice. A small number of persons, selected by their fellow citizens from the general mass, will be most likely to possess the information and discernment requisite to so complicated an investigation.

Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist*, No.68

Critics charge that the Electoral College allows a dangerous possibility: the election of a President who has not won in the popular vote. The possibility became fact in the 1888 election. Grover Cleveland received 48.7 percent of the popular vote to Benjamin Harrison's 47.9 percent, but Harrison carried New York state and therefore outpolled Cleveland by 233 to 168 in the Electoral College. In the 1976 election, a switch of 9,245 votes in Ohio and Hawaii would have denied an electoral majority to President Carter despite his 1.5 million vote plurality. The election of a President who received less than a popular vote plurality is perceived by some critics as a potential constitutional crisis of the first magnitude, an outcome that would not be acceptable to the American people.

On the other hand, supporters of the college assert that it has worked well over the last 48 presidential elections. "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" is the rallying cry of opponents. Those who think the college has functioned well and will continue to do so assert that the election of 1888, often used as a horrible example by those who seek change, was a statistical anomaly that is unlikely to occur again.

Over the years, some of those who basically support the Electoral College system, as well as those who think it works badly, have suggested changes in the system by which Americans elect their President. At one end of the spectrum are those who want to abolish the Electoral College and elect the President by direct popular vote. A direct election amendment has been introduced in the Senate over 60 times, most recently in 1979, but has failed to garner the required two-thirds vote. (In 1970, a direct election amendment did pass in the House.)

Other proposals for change include:

* The automatic plan, to abolish the office of electors and automatically allocate the electoral votes of the state on a winner-take-all basis.

* The district plan, to retain the electoral vote allocation for each state but replace the winner-take-all-by-state with a winner-take-all-by-district, which may or may not be congressional districts, depending on the specific legislation.

* The proportional plan, to abolish the office of elector and divide each state's electoral vote proportionately to correspond with the popular vote within the state for the various presidential nominees.

For Further Information

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Examples of third-party presidential nominees in this century who have received electoral votes:[1]

1912	Theodore Roosevelt	Progressive (Bull Moose) party	88 electoral votes
1924	Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.	Progressive party	13 electoral votes
1948	J. Strom Thurmond	States' Rights party (Dixiecrat)	39 electoral votes
1968	George C. Wallace	American Independent party	46 electoral votes

[1] *Choosing the President*, League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1984, Appendix, p. 105, note 3

ELECTING THE PRESIDENT: THE GENIUS OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

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In order to appreciate the reasons for the Electoral College, it is essential to understand its historical context and the problem the Founding Fathers were trying to solve. They faced the difficult question of how to elect a president in a nation:

*which was composed of thirteen large and small States jealous of their own rights and powers and suspicious of a federal government

*which contained only 4,000,000 people spread up and down a thousand miles of Atlantic seaboard barely connected by transportation or communication (so that national campaigns were impractical even if they had been thought desirable)

*which believed, under the influence of such British political thinkers as Henry St John Bolingbroke, that political parties were mischievous if not downright evil, and

*which felt that gentlemen should not campaign for public office (The saying was "The office should seek the man, the man should not seek the office").

How, then, to choose a president without political parties, without national campaigns, and without upsetting the carefully designed balance between the presidency and the Congress on one hand and between the States and the federal government on the other?

ORIGINS OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The Constitutional convention considered several possible methods of selecting a president.

One idea was to have the Congress choose the president. This idea was rejected, however, because some felt that making such a choice would be too divisive an issue and leave too many hard feelings in the Congress. Others felt that such a procedure would invite unseemly political bargaining, corruption, and perhaps even interference from foreign powers. Still others felt that such an arrangement would upset the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government.

A second idea was to have the State legislatures select the president. This idea, too, was rejected out of fears that a president so beholden to the State legislatures might permit them to erode federal authority and thus undermine the whole idea of a federation.

A third idea was to have the president elected by a direct popular vote. Direct election was rejected not because the Framers of the Constitution doubted public intelligence but rather because they feared that without sufficient information about candidates from outside their State, people would naturally vote for a "favorite son" from their own State. At worst, no president would emerge with a popular majority sufficient to govern the whole country. At best, the choice of a president would always be decided by the largest, most populous States with little regard for the smaller ones.

Finally, a so-called "Committee of Eleven" in the Constitutional Convention proposed an indirect election of the president through a College of Electors.

The function of the College of Electors in choosing the President can be likened to that in the Roman Catholic Church of the College of Cardinals selecting the Pope. The original idea was for the most knowledgeable and informed individuals from each State to select the president based solely on merit and without regard to State of origin or political party.

The structure of the Electoral College can be traced to the Centurial Assembly system of the Roman Republic. Under that system, the adult male citizens of Rome were divided, according to their wealth, into groups of 100 (called Centuries). Each group of 100 was entitled to cast only one vote either in favor or against proposals submitted to them by the Roman Senate. In the Electoral College system, the States serve as the Centurial groups (though they are not, of course, based on wealth), and the number of votes per State is determined by the size of each State's Congressional delegation. Still, the two systems are similar in design and share many of the same advantages and disadvantages.

The similarities between the Electoral College and classical institutions are not accidental. Many of the Founding Fathers were well schooled in ancient history and its lessons.

The First Design

In the first design of the Electoral College (described in Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution):

*Each State was allocated a number of Electors equal to the number of its U.S. Senators (always 2) plus the number of its U.S. Representatives (which may change each decade according to the size of each State's population as determined in the decennial census). This arrangement built upon an earlier compromise in the design of the Congress itself and thus satisfied both large and small States.

*The manner of choosing the Electors was left to the individual State legislatures, thereby pacifying States suspicious of a federal government.

*Members of Congress and employees of the federal government were specifically prohibited from serving as an Elector in order to maintain the balance between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government.

*Each State's Electors were required to meet in their respective States rather than all together in one great meeting. This arrangement, it was thought, would prevent bribery, corruption, secret dealing, and foreign influence.

*In order to prevent Electors from voting only for a "favorite son" of their own State, each Elector was required to cast two votes for president, at least one of which had to be for someone outside their home State. The idea, presumably, was that the winner would likely be everyone's second favorite choice.

*The electoral votes were to be sealed and transmitted from each of the States to the President of the Senate who would then open them before both houses of the Congress and read the results.

*The person with the most electoral votes, provided that it was an absolute majority (at least one over half of the total), became president. Whoever obtained the next greatest number of electoral votes became vice president—an office which they seem to have invented for the occasion since it had not been mentioned previously in the Constitutional Convention.

*In the event that no one obtained an absolute majority in the Electoral College or in the event of a tie vote, the U.S. House of Representatives, as the chamber closest to the people, would choose the president from among the top five contenders. They would do this (as a further concession to the small States) by allowing each State to cast only one vote with an absolute majority of the States being required to elect a president. The vice-presidency would go to whatever remaining contender had the greatest number of electoral votes. If that, too, was tied, the U.S. Senate would break the tie by deciding between the two.

In all, this was quite an elaborate design. But it was also a very clever one when you consider that the whole operation was supposed to work *without political parties and without national campaigns* while maintaining the balances and satisfying the fears in play at the time. Indeed, it is probably because the Electoral College was originally designed to operate in an environment so totally different from our own that many people think it is anachronistic and fail to appreciate the new purposes it now serves. But of that, more later.

The Second Design

The first design of the Electoral College lasted through only four presidential elections. For in the meantime, political parties had emerged in the United States. The very people who had been condemning parties publicly had nevertheless been building them privately. And too, the idea of political parties had gained respectability through the persuasive writings of such political philosophers as Edmund Burke.

One of the accidental results of the development of political parties was that in the presidential election of 1800, the Electors of the Democratic Republican Party

gave Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr (both of that party) an equal number of electoral votes. The tie was resolved by the House of Representatives in Jefferson's favor—but only after 36 tries and some serious political dealings that were considered unseemly at the time. Since this sort of bargaining over the presidency was the very thing the electoral college was supposed to prevent, the Congress and the States hastily adopted the 12th Amendment to the Constitution by September 1804.

To prevent tie votes in the Electoral College, which were made probable, if not inevitable, by the rise of political parties (and no doubt to facilitate the election of a president and vice president of the same party), the 12th Amendment requires that each Elector cast *one* vote for president and a *separate* vote for vice-president rather than casting two votes for president with the runner-up being made vice-president. The Amendment also stipulates that if no one receives an absolute majority of electoral votes for president, then the U.S. House of Representatives will select the president from among the top three contenders with each State casting only one vote and an absolute majority being required to elect. By the same token, if no one receives an absolute majority for vice-president, then the U.S. Senate will select the vice-president from among the top two contenders for that office. All other features of the Electoral College remained the same including the requirement that, in order to prevent Electors from voting only for "favorite sons," either the presidential or vice-presidential candidate has to be from a State other than that of the Electors.

In short, political party loyalties had, by 1800, begun to cut across State loyalties thereby creating new and different problems in the selection of a president. By making seemingly slight changes, the 12th Amendment fundamentally altered the design of the Electoral College and, in one stroke, accommodated political parties as a fact of life in American presidential elections.

It is noteworthy in passing that the idea of electing the president by direct popular vote was not widely promoted as an alternative to redesigning the Electoral College. This may be because the physical and demographic circumstances of the country had not changed that much in a dozen or so years. Or it may be because the excesses of the recent French revolution (and its fairly rapid degeneration into dictatorship) had given the populists some pause to reflect on the wisdom of too direct a democracy.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Since the 12th Amendment, there have been several federal and State statutory changes which have affected both the time and manner of choosing Presidential Electors but which have not further altered the fundamental workings of the Electoral College. There have also been a few curious incidents which its critics cite as problems but which proponents of the Electoral College view as merely its natural and intended operation.

The Manner of Choosing Electors

From the outset, and to this day, the manner of choosing its State's Electors was left to each State legislature. And initially, as one might expect, different States adopted different methods.

Some State legislatures decided to choose the Electors themselves. Others decided on a direct popular vote for Electors either by Congressional district or at large throughout the whole State. Still others devised some combination of these methods. But in all cases, Electors were chosen individually from a single list of all candidates for the position.

During the 1800's, two trends in the States altered and more or less standardized the manner of choosing Electors. The first trend was toward choosing Electors by the direct popular vote of the whole State (rather than by the State legislature or by the popular vote of each Congressional district). Indeed, by 1836, all States had moved to choosing their Electors by direct statewide popular vote except South Carolina, which persisted in choosing them by the State legislature until 1860. Today, all States choose their Electors by direct statewide election except Maine, which in 1969 changed to selecting two of its Electors by statewide vote and the remainder by the popular vote in each Congressional district.

Along with the trend toward their direct statewide election came the trend toward what is called the "winner-take-all" system of choosing Electors. Under the winner-take-all system, the presidential candidate who wins the most popular votes within a State wins *all* of that State's Electors. This winner-take-all system was really the logical consequence of the direct statewide vote for Electors owing to the influence of political parties. For in a direct popular election, voters loyal to one political party's candidate for president would naturally vote for that party's list of proposed Electors. By the same token, political parties would propose only as many Electors as there were electoral votes in the State so as not to fragment their support and thus permit the victory of another party's Elector.

There arose, then, the custom that each political party would, in each State, offer a "slate of Electors"—a list of individuals loyal to their candidate for president and equal in number to that State's electoral vote. The voters of each State would then vote for each individual listed in the slate of whichever party's candidate they preferred. Yet the business of presenting separate party slates of individuals occasionally led to confusion. Some voters divided their votes between party lists because of

personal loyalties to the individuals involved rather than according to their choice for president. Other voters, either out of fatigue or confusion, voted for fewer than the entire party list. The result, especially in close elections, was the occasional splitting of a State's electoral vote. This happened as late as 1916 in West Virginia when seven Republican Electors and one Democratic Elector won.

Today, the individual party candidates for Elector are seldom listed on the ballot. Instead, the expression "Electors for" usually appears in fine print on the ballot in front of each set of candidates for president and vice-president. It is still true, however, that voters are actually casting their votes for the *Electors* for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of their choice rather than for the candidates themselves.

The Time of Choosing Electors

The time for choosing Electors has undergone a similar evolution, for while the Constitution specifically gives to the Congress the power to "determine the Time of choosing the Electors," the Congress at first gave some latitude to the States.

For the first fifty years of the Federation, Congress permitted the States to conduct their presidential elections (or otherwise to choose their Electors) anytime in a 34 day period before the first Wednesday of December, which was the day set for the meeting of the Electors in their respective States. The problems born of such an arrangement are obvious and were intensified by improved communications. For the States that voted later could swell, diminish, or be influenced by a candidate's victories in the States that voted earlier. In those elections, the States that voted last might well determine the outcome. (And it is perhaps for this reason that South Carolina, always among the last States to choose its Electors, maintained for so long its tradition of choosing them by the State legislature. In close elections, the South Carolina State legislature might well decide the Presidency!)

The Congress, in 1845, therefore adopted a uniform day on which the States were to choose their Electors. That day—the Tuesday following the first Monday in November in years divisible by four—continues to be the day on which all the States now conduct their presidential elections.

Historical Curiosities

In the evolution of the Electoral College, there have been some interesting developments and remarkable outcomes. Critics often try to use these as examples of what can go wrong. Yet most of these historical curiosities were the result of profound political divisions within the country that the designers of the Electoral College system seem to have anticipated as needing resolution at a higher level.

***In 1800,** as previously noted, the Democratic-Republican Electors gave both Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr an equal number of electoral votes. The tie, settled in in Jefferson's favor by the House of Representatives in accordance with the original design of the Electoral College system, prompted the 12th Amendment, which effectively prevented this sort of thing from ever happening again.

***In 1824,** there were four fairly strong contenders in the presidential contest (Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Crawford, and Henry Clay), each of whom represented an important faction within the now vastly dominant Democratic-Republican Party. The electoral votes were so divided amongst them that no one received the necessary majority to become president (although the popular John C. Calhoun did receive enough electoral votes to become vice-president). In accordance with the provisions of the 12th Amendment, the choice of president devolved upon the House of Representatives who narrowly selected John Quincy Adams despite the fact that Andrew Jackson had obtained the greater number of electoral votes.

This election is often cited as the first one in which the candidate who obtained the greatest popular vote (Jackson) failed to be elected president. The claim is a weak one, though, since six of the twenty four States at the time still chose their Electors in the State legislature. Some of these (such as sizable New York) would likely have returned large majorities for Adams had they conducted a popular election.

***The 1836** presidential election was a truly strange event. The developing Whig Party, for example, decided to run three different presidential candidates (William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster, and Hugh White) in separate parts of the country. The idea was that their respective regional popularities would ensure a Whig majority in the Electoral College, which would then decide on a single Whig presidential ticket. This fairly inspired scheme failed, though, when Democratic- Republican candidate Martin Van Buren won an absolute majority of Electors. Nor has such a strategy ever again been seriously attempted. Yet Van Buren himself did not escape the event entirely unscathed.

For while he obtained an electoral majority, his vice-presidential running mate (one Richard Johnson) was considered so objectionable by some of the Democratic-Republican Electors that he failed to obtain the necessary majority of electoral votes to become vice-president. In accordance with the 12th Amendment, the decision devolved upon the Senate, which chose Johnson as vice-president anyway. A really bizarre election, that one.

***In the 1872** election, Democratic candidate Horace Greeley (he, of earlier "Go west, young man, go West" journalistic fame whose nomination makes a good story in itself) thoughtlessly died during the period between the popular vote for Electors and the meeting of the Electoral College. The Electors who were pledged to him, clearly unprepared for such an eventuality, split their electoral votes amongst several other Democratic candidates (including Greeley himself as a possible comment on the incumbent Ulysses S. Grant). That hardly mattered, though, since the Republican Grant had readily won an absolute majority of Electors. Still, it was an interesting event for which the political parties are now prepared.

***In 1876,** the country once again found itself in serious political turmoil echoing, in some respects, both the economic divisions of 1824 and the impending political party re-alignments of 1836, but with the added bitterness of Reconstruction. A number of deep cross-currents were in play. After a vast economic expansion, the country had fallen into a deep depression. Monetary and tariff issues were eroding the Union Republican coalition of East and West while a solid Republican black vote eroded the traditional Democratic hold on the South. The incumbent Republican administration of Grant had suffered a seemingly endless series of scandals involving graft and corruption on a scale hitherto unknown. And the South was eager to put an end to Radical Reconstruction, which was, after all, a kind of vast political mugging. Against this backdrop, the resurging Democratic Party easily nominated Samuel J. Tilden, the popular governor of New York, and Thomas A. Hindricks of Indiana(shrewd geographic choices under the circumstances). The Republicans, in a more turbulent convention, selected Ohio Governor Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler of New York. A variety of fairly significant third parties also cropped up, further shattering the country's political cohesion.

This is about as good a prescription for electoral chaos as anyone might hope for. Indeed, it is almost surprising that things did not turn out worse than they did. For on election night, it looked as though Tilden had pulled off the first Democratic presidential victory since the Civil War—although the decisive electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana remained in balance. Yet these States were as divided internally as was the nation at large. Without detailing the machinations of the vote count, suffice it to say that each State finally delivered to the Congress two sets of Electoral votes—one set for Tilden and one set for Hayes. Because the Congressional procedures for resolving disputed sets of Electors had expired, the Congress established a special 15-member commission to decide the issue in each of the three States. After much partisan intrigue, the special commission decided (by one vote in each case) on Hayes' Electors from all three States. Thus, Hayes was elected president despite the fact that Tilden, by everyone's count, had obtained a slight majority of popular votes (although the difference was a mere 3% of the total vote cast). As a final note, the Congress enacted legislation in 1887 that delegated to each State the final authority to determine the legality of its choice of Electors and required a concurrent majority of both houses of Congress to reject any electoral vote. That legislation remains in effect to this day so that the events of 1876 will not repeat themselves.

*Benjamin Harrison's election **in 1888** is really the only clearcut instance in which the Electoral College vote went contrary to the popular vote. This happened because the incumbent, Democrat Grover Cleveland, ran up huge popular majorities in several of the 18 states that supported him while the Republican challenger, Benjamin Harrison, won only slender majorities in some of the larger of the 20 States that supported him (most notably in Cleveland's home State of New York). Even so, the difference between them was only 110,476 votes out of 11,381,032 cast—less than 1% of the total. Interestingly, in this case, there were few critical issues (other than tariffs) separating the candidates so the election seems to have been fought—and won—more on the basis of superior party organization in getting out the vote than on the issues of the day.

These, then, are the major historical curiosities of the Electoral College system. And because they are so frequently cited as flaws in the system, a few observations on them seem in order.

First, all of these events occurred over a century ago. For the past hundred years, the Electoral College has functioned without incident in every presidential election through two world wars, a major economic depression, and several periods of acute civil unrest. Only twice in this century (the States' Rights Democrats in 1948 and George Wallace's American Independents in 1968) have there been attempts to block an Electoral College victory and thus either force a negotiation for the presidency or else force the decision into the Congress. Neither attempt came close to succeeding. Such stability, rare in human history, should not be lightly dismissed.

Second, each of these events (except 1888) resulted either from political inexperience (as in 1800, 1836, and 1872) or from profound political divisions within the country (as in 1824, 1876, and even 1948 and 1968) that required some sort of higher order political resolution. And all of them were resolved in a peaceable and orderly fashion without any public uprising and without endangering the legitimacy of the sitting president. Indeed, it is hard to imagine how a direct election of the president could have resolved events as agreeably.

Finally, as the election of 1888 demonstrates, the Electoral College system imposes two requirements on candidates for the presidency:

*that the victor obtain a *sufficient* popular vote to enable him to govern (although this may not be the absolute majority), and

*that such a popular vote be sufficiently *distributed* across the country to enable him to govern.

Such an arrangement ensures a regional balance of support, which is a vital consideration in governing a large and diverse nation (even though in close elections, as in 1888, distribution of support may take precedence over a majority of support).

Far from being flaws, then, the historical oddities described above demonstrate the strength and resilience of the Electoral College system in being able to select a president in even the most troubled of times.

CURRENT WORKINGS OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The current workings of the Electoral College are the result of both design and experience. As it now operates:

*Each State is allocated a number of Electors equal to the number of its U.S. Senators (always 2) plus the number of its U.S. Representatives (which may change each decade according to the size of each State's population as determined in the Census).

*The political parties (or independent candidates) in each State submit to the State's chief election official a list of individuals pledged to their candidate for president and equal in number to the State's electoral vote. Usually, the major political parties select these individuals in their State party conventions while third parties and independent candidates merely designate theirs.

*Members of Congress and employees of the federal government are prohibited from serving as an Elector in order to maintain the balance between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government.

*After their caucuses and primaries, the major parties nominate their candidates for president and vice-president in their national conventions—traditionally held in the summer preceding the election. (Third parties and independent candidates follow different procedures according to the individual State laws). The names of the duly nominated candidates are then officially submitted to each State's chief election official so that they might appear on the general election ballot.

*On the Tuesday following the first Monday of November in years divisible by four, the people in each State cast their ballots for the party slate of Electors representing their choice for president and vice-president (although as a matter of practice, general election ballots normally say "Electors for" each set of candidates rather than list the individual Electors on each slate).

*Whichever party slate wins the most popular votes in the State becomes the State's Electors (so that, in effect, whichever presidential ticket gets the most popular votes in a State wins all the Electors of that State).

*On the Monday following the second Wednesday of December (as established in federal law) each State's Electors meet in their respective State capitals and cast their electoral votes—one for president and one for vice-president.

*In order to prevent Electors from voting only for "favorite sons" of their home State, at least one of their votes must be for a person from outside their State (though this is seldom a problem since the parties have consistently nominated presidential and vice-presidential candidates from different states).

*The electoral votes are then sealed and transmitted from each State to the President of the Senate who, on the following January 6, opens and reads them before both houses of the Congress.

*The candidate for president with the most electoral votes, provided that it is an absolute majority (one over half of the total), is declared president. Similarly, the vice-presidential candidate with the absolute majority of electoral votes is declared vice-president.

*In the event no one obtains an absolute majority of electoral votes for president, the U.S. House of Representatives (as the chamber closest to the people) selects the president from among the top three contenders with each State casting only one vote and an absolute majority of the States being required to elect. Similarly, if no one obtains an absolute majority for vice-president, then the U.S. Senate makes the selection from among the top two contenders for that office.

Occasionally questions arise about what would happen if the presidential or vice presidential candidate died at some point in this process. For answers to these, as well as to a number of other "what if" questions, readers are advised to consult a small volume entitled *After the People Vote: Steps in Choosing the President* edited by Walter Berns and published in 1983 by the American Enterprise Institute.

DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTORAL VOTES

State	Electoral Vote 1971-80	Electoral Vote 1981-90
Alabama	9	9
Alaska	3	3
Arizona	6	7
Arkansas	6	6
California	45	47
Colorado	7	8
Connecticut	8	8
Delaware	3	3
District of Columbia	3	3
Florida	17	21
Georgia	12	12
Hawaii	4	4
Idaho	4	4
Illinois	26	24
Indiana	13	12
Iowa	8	8
Kansas	7	7
Kentucky	9	9
Louisiana	10	10
Maine	4	4
Maryland	10	10
Massachusetts	14	13
Michigan	21	20
Minnesota	10	10
Mississippi	7	7
Missouri	12	11
Montana	4	4
Nebraska	5	5
Nevada	3	4
New Hampshire	4	4
New Jersey	17	16
New Mexico	4	5
New York	41	36
North Carolina	13	13
North Dakota	3	3
Ohio	25	23
Oklahoma	8	8
Oregon	6	7
Pennsylvania	27	25
Rhode Island	4	4
South Carolina	8	8
South Dakota	3	3
Tennessee	10	11
Texas	26	29
Utah	4	5
Vermont	3	3
Virginia	12	12
Washington	9	10
West Virginia	6	6
Wisconsin	11	11
Wyoming	3	3

TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTE: 538
NEEDED TO ELECT: 270

Similarly, further details on the history and current functioning of the Electoral College are available in the second edition of Congressional Quarterly's *Guide to U.S. Elections*, a real goldmine of information, maps, and statistics.

THE PRO'S AND CON'S OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM

There have, in its 200-year history, been a number of critics and proposed reforms to the Electoral College system—most of them trying to eliminate it. But there are also staunch defenders of the Electoral College who, though perhaps less vocal than its critics, offer very powerful arguments in its favor.

Arguments against the Electoral College

Those who object to the Electoral College system and favor a direct popular election of the president generally do so on three grounds:

*the possibility of electing a minority president
*the risk of so-called "faithless Electors," and
*the possible role of the Electoral College in depressing voter turnout.

Opponents of the Electoral College are disturbed by *the possibility of electing a minority president* (one without the absolute majority of popular votes). Nor is this concern entirely unfounded since there are three ways in which that could happen.

One way in which a minority president could be elected is if the country were so deeply divided politically that three or more presidential candidates split the electoral votes among them such that no one obtained the necessary majority. This occurred, as noted above, in 1824 and was unsuccessfully attempted in 1948 and again in 1968. Should that happen today, there are two possible resolutions: either one candidate could throw his electoral votes to the support of another (before the meeting of the Electors) or else, absent an absolute majority in the Electoral College, the U.S. House of Representatives would select the president in accordance with the 12th Amendment. Either way, though, the person taking office would not have obtained the absolute majority of the popular vote. Yet it is unclear how a direct election of the president could resolve such a deep national conflict without introducing a presidential run-off election—a procedure that would add substantially to the time, cost, and effort already devoted to selecting a president and that might well deepen the political divisions while trying to resolve them.

A second way in which a minority president could take office is if, as in 1888, one candidate's popular support were heavily concentrated in a few States while the other candidate maintained a slim popular lead in enough States to win the needed

vote is extremely close, then the election defaults to that candidate with the best distribution of popular votes (as evidenced by obtaining the absolute majority of electoral votes); in the event the country is so divided that no one obtains an absolute majority of electoral votes, then the choice of president defaults to the States in the U.S. House of Representatives. One way or the other, then, the winning candidate must demonstrate both a **sufficient** popular support to govern as well as a sufficient **distribution** of that support to govern.

Proponents also point out that, far from diminishing minority interests by depressing voter participation, the Electoral College actually *enhances the status of minority groups.* This is so because the votes of even small minorities in a State may make the difference between winning **all** of that State's electoral votes or none of the State's electoral votes. And since ethnic minority groups in the United States happen to concentrate in those States with the most electoral votes, they assume an importance to presidential candidates well out of proportion to their number. The same principle applies to other special interest groups such as labor unions, farmers, environmentalists, and so forth.

It is because of this "leverage effect" that the presidency, as an institution, tends to be more sensitive to ethnic minority and other special interest groups than does the Congress as an institution. Changing to a direct election of the president would therefore actually damage minority interests since their votes would be overwhelmed by a national popular majority.

Finally, proponents argue that the Electoral College *contributes to the political stability of the nation by encouraging a two-party system.* There can be no doubt that the Electoral College has encouraged and helps to maintain a two-party system in the United States. This is true simply because it is extremely difficult for a new or minor party to win enough popular votes in enough States to have a chance of winning the presidency. Even if they won enough electoral votes to force the decision into the U.S. House of Representatives, they would still have to have a majority of over half the State delegations in order to elect their candidate—and in that case, they would hardly be considered a minor party.

In addition to protecting the presidency from impassioned but transitory third party movements, the practical effect of the Electoral College (along with the single-member district system of representation in the Congress) is to virtually force third party movements into one of the two major political parties. Conversely, the major parties have every incentive to absorb minor party movements in their continual attempt to win popular majorities in the States. In this process of assimilation, third party movements are obliged to compromise their more radical views if they hope to attain any of their more generally acceptable objectives. Thus we end up with two large, pragmatic political parties that tend to the center of public opinion rather than dozens of smaller political parties catering to divergent and sometimes extremist views. In other words, such a system forces political coalitions to occur within the political parties rather than within the government.

A direct popular election of the president would likely have the opposite effect. For in a direct popular election, there would be every incentive for a multitude of minor parties to form in an attempt to prevent whatever popular majority might be necessary to elect a president. The surviving candidates would thus be drawn to the regionalist or extremist views represented by these parties in hopes of winning the run-off election.

The result of a direct popular election for president, then, would likely be a frayed and unstable political system characterized by a multitude of political parties and by more radical changes in policies from one administration to the next. The Electoral College system, in contrast, encourages political parties to coalesce divergent interests into two sets of coherent alternatives. Such an organization of social conflict and political debate contributes to the political stability of the nation.

Conclusion

The fact that the Electoral College was originally designed to solve one set of problems but today serves to solve an entirely different set of problems is a tribute to the genius of the Founding Fathers. The fact that it solves so many of today's problems at virtually no cost to the public is testament to the genius of the Electoral College.

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OHIO ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The term "electoral college" is misleading insofar as it suggests a single body of persons who all gather in a single room to perform their duties. In fact it is just a collective term for the presidential electors who gather in each of the state capitals on the Monday following the second Wednesday in December (December 13 to 19) in years divisible by four.

In Ohio, each of the two major political parties has selected 23 (one for each member of Congress and one for each United States Senator from Ohio) at its state convention in September or early October and has filed its list with the Ohio Secretary of State. These men and women are usually chosen by their party as an honor; they are often elected officeholders, county chairs, active party workers, and major financial contributors. They cannot be members of Congress or presidential appointees. One elector is usually selected from each of Ohio's congressional districts, and two are selected from the state at large, but this distribution is not required.

As soon as the official results of the November general election for President and Vice President are known, the Secretary of State writes to each of the presidential electors of the political party whose nominee received the most votes in Ohio, notifying them of the time and place of the electoral college meeting. (Thus, in 1988, the Republican electors were notified because George Bush had received the most votes in Ohio.)

The Ohio electoral college usually meets in either the Senate chamber or the House of Representatives chamber in the State House in Columbus. The college convenes at 11:00 a.m. or shortly thereafter, but it cannot begin the actual vote for President until 12:00 noon. Between election day in November and the meeting of the electoral college in December, the Secretary of State prepares all of the official documents that will be required before, during, and after the meeting. A "Certificate of Ascertainment" is sent by registered mail to the Archivist of the United States, containing a list of the electors pledged to each presidential candidate and the number of votes received by each candidate. This establishes the credentials of the electors, assuring that they are qualified to serve.

The Secretary of State convenes the electoral college, which immediately elects a temporary chair, then determines that all of the electors are present. If any electors are not present, the rest of the electors elect replacements. After filling any vacancies, they elect a permanent chair.

At noon the chair accepts nominations for the office of President. The electors vote on individual pre-printed paper ballots, each elector signing his or her ballot. It is obviously not a secret ballot. The ballots are counted and the result announced. The identical procedure is followed as they vote separately for Vice President.

Each elector then signs six copies of the Certificate of Vote, showing that the winning candidates for President and Vice President did in fact receive all of Ohio's electoral votes.

The meeting of the electoral college is open to the public and is attended by speeches, presentations of honored guests, and much picture-taking.

After this ceremonial occasion is concluded, one copy of the Certificate of Vote and a copy of the Certificate of Ascertainment are sent by registered mail to the President of the United States Senate in Washington, D.C. Two copies of each are kept by the Secretary of State, one to be kept on file and one to be subject to the order of the President of the U.S. Senate. Two copies of each are sent to the Archivist of the United States, one to be preserved and one to be subject to the order of the President of the U.S. Senate. One copy of each is sent to the federal district court judge in Cincinnati. This distribution is clearly intended to assure that the President of the U.S. Senate gets a copy and that other copies are widely disbursed in case of any dispute about the validity of the results.

On January 6 immediately following the electoral college meeting, the members of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives meet at 1:00 p.m. in the House chamber to hear the President of the Senate read the result of the election.

In the normal course of events, this is all very ceremonial and seemingly rather meaningless. However, it also describes an elaborate ritual with many safeguards to assure an orderly transfer of power from one President to the next.

The question that always arises is: what would happen if a President-elect were to die between election night and the meeting of the electoral college? It has never happened, and no one is really sure exactly what would take place. The one thing that is clear is that what has usually been a ceremonial office—presidential elector—would suddenly be an enormously powerful position. This potential power makes presidential electors a most interesting, if invisible, body for six weeks every four years.

*MOCK CONVENTION**

BACKGROUND

A Mock Convention is a political nominating convention at which delegates of the states hammer out a platform of party principles and choose standard bearers for the offices of president and vice president. It differs from the conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties in two significant respects. First, the delegates are all members of one scholastic student body, and the procedures are adapted and simplified for school use. In addition, the nominees of the Mock Convention are not necessarily placed on the ballots of the states in the November election, unless the national party convention reaches the same results.

An American presidential nominating convention is a unique political event that concentrates pageantry, hard bargaining, emotional appeals, and shrewd calculations in a few frantic days. Although many nominations for elective office are made through direct primaries, the convention system of nominations persists in the selection of the candidates for the grand prize of American politics, the presidency. Delegates from the fifty states and other areas entitled to vote for president (for example, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico) meet during the summer preceding a presidential election. Their task is to choose the people and the set of principles that will unite their party for the election campaign and produce victory in November. Despite the fact that these delegates are all of the same party, their backgrounds and policy preferences are highly diversified. Each party's convention can be viewed, in a sense, as reproducing in microcosm the political conflicts and agreements of the American polity.

Why do students at schools, before it actually takes place, imitate this particular political event? That is to say, what is the goal of a Mock Convention? In the broadest sense, the goal of a Mock Convention is political and civic education.

The student body, faculty, and members of the community are exposed to discussions of current political issues. Public figures prominently mentioned as possible presidential nominees, and their political styles and policy preferences, are made more familiar. The school community can also observe first hand, in a replica of a presidential nominating convention, the practice of politics and some of the means employed to attain political ends. It gains familiarity with political bargaining, compromises, and coalition building; taking the half loaf and tempering ideals with practical realities.

The actual participants in the Mock Convention have a more intensive and extensive educational experience. They become thoroughly familiar with the major political issues and with the key political personalities of one party. In addition, they gain valuable experience in administration and organization of this large event. By their actual participation in a political process, they become the actors and decision-makers in a series of events leading to the formation of a platform and the selection of candidates. The feel for politics that they gain is perhaps the most significant educational benefit to these active participants. They must make hard choices, drive bargains, formulate strategies, weigh contending forces, and articulate persuasive arguments.

There is another important benefit for the active participants. They often find themselves in the position of playing the role of people with whom they personally disagree. For example, the student from a rural area may find himself or herself in the position of advocating federal rent supplements and open housing as a delegate from New York; or the student from an urban area may find himself or herself advocating higher support prices for agriculture. Having the opportunity to understand and, to some extent, to empathize with alien points of view is clearly also "educational" in the best sense of the word.

While the goal of a Mock Convention is education, one type of enjoyment can be found in its debates on issues and campaigns for nominees. In addition, less serious pleasures are also to be included. Parades, bands, floor demonstrations and rallies, posters, and campaigning are welcome changes of pace and are genuine contributions in approximating the actual conventions.

To attain the goal of civic and political education, why have a Mock Convention? A Mock Convention requires a relatively short period of intense acitivity, involves large numbers of people, calls forth debate on national issues in broad general terms rather than in narrow legal or legislative terms, and its basic structure is relatively simple.

Would not more accuracy in duplicating what goes on at a national convention be attained by observing one of the conventions in action and then re-enacting what went on? Mock Conventions often nominate candidates and adopt platform planks at variance with the actions of subsequent national conventions. Clearly this is, in a sense, a "failure" on their part. However, one can scarcely imagine students

** This material draws heavily on Thomas Wolanin, "Mock Presidential Nominating Conventions: How To Conduct Them" (published by Dr. Townsend Scudder, Center for Information on America, Washington, CT, 1967).*

summoning up much interest in or enthusiasm for a stylized play that marches along a predetermined route to a foreordained conclusion. Such a model convention would also defeat the educational goals of giving the participants a feel for politics and of demanding active empathy with points of view different from their own.

A major problem faced in conducting a successful Mock Convention is that factors indigenous to the school setting rather than accurate political role-playing may determine the selection of platform planks, the strategies at the convention, and the final choice of presidential and vice presidential nominees. The general ideological tenor of the school may become a determining factor. The students at a generally conservative school may find it difficult to nominate a liberal, or vice versa, even though this appears to be the logical outcome, given the actual structure of political forces in the party whose convention is being held. Platform planks and candidates may become the vehicles of particular organizations and personalities in the school. The success or failure of these planks or candidates may then bear no relation to their actual weight at the real party convention. That is to say, each Mock Convention runs the danger of becoming a "house without windows," a game of politics cut off from any reference to the political situation within the parties and the states. A Mock Convention that becomes such a school game of politics defeats its goal of civic and political education. The community and the active participants are denied a serious consideration of national issues and potential candidates.

They do not see the probable strategies and tactics of groups and interests within one party, but rather those of school groups. One clearly has politics, but the weights and strengths of the players are wrong. It is as if one converted queens into pawns and bishops into rooks in a game of chess. Careful planning and preparation are necessary to prevent a Mock Convention from becoming a mockery.

OBJECTIVES

* Students will better understand the structure and dynamics of national political conventions.
* Students will gain experience in organizing and presenting information.
* Students will participate in the organization of a large-scale event.

PREPARATION

Permission

The initial impetus to have a mock convention generally comes from the student council, the social studies department, or a single teacher. Get the permission of the school administration before going any further. This is not a project that can be carried out effectively within a single classroom, but needs to be a schoolwide project.

Set the Date

The most effective time for holding a Mock Convention is the winter or spring before a presidential election. The planning should begin in the fall before so there is plenty of time to gather information, work out the timeline, reserve the gym or auditorium, and fit the preparations and the Mock Convention itself around other activities and vacations on the school calendar. Early planning also affords sufficient time to work out detailed lists of responsibilities and to solicit support from other faculty members.

Choosing the Party

Before turning to a consideration of each of these types of tasks in more detail there is an important choice that must be made when the decision to have a Mock Convention is made. It is the choice of whether the convention will be that of the Democratic Party or of the Republican.

An "open" convention is the most desirable for Mock Convention duplication. In an "open" convention, the actual decisions are made in the convention and are not a foreordained conclusion. The renomination of an incumbent president who wishes to seek another term, as in the case of Lyndon Johnson in 1964 or Ronald Reagan in 1984, constitutes a "closed" convention. It is almost impossible for a party to deny renomination to an incumbent president. Barring catastrophic events, the President commands sufficent political influence to insure his renomination. In addition, the party can scarcely hope to win by "dumping" their incumbent. Such a repudiation would be read as a clear confession of ineptitude and political bankruptcy. The existence of a "crown prince," a successor designated by a retiring popular president as in the case of Richard Nixon in 1960, or the appearance of a candidate with a large majority of the delegates pledged to him, are other example of "closed" conventions. A convention that will feature a variety of aspirants for the nomination and a lively contest is the desirable type of "open" convention.

Both parties have sufficient internal diversity to provoke lively discussion over the platform. Thus anticipations concerning the type of platform debate are somewhat less relevant in the choice of which party's convention to hold. Platform debates should be spirited in either case. However, instances such as the conflicts over the Democrats' civil rights plank in 1948 or over the Republican plank concerning extremism in 1964 indicate that the expected platform discussions are not irrelevant.

It is often difficult to predict at the time one is holding a Mock Convention whether the actual future convention of that same party will be "open" or "closed." The Republican convention of 1988 appeared to be an open contest in the spring of that year when many schools and colleges held Mock Conventions. It turned out, however, that George Bush won the nomination with ease because of his solid delegate support.

Timeline

Write out as detailed a timeline as possible. Which committees will be responsible for what preparations; what is the deadline for each item that needs to be done? When all the committees are organized, fill in the names of the individual students and faculty who will be responsible for each item. It will probably take a large wall chart to keep track of everything and to make sure everything stays on track.

Committees

Write out as clear and detailed a list as possible of each committee's responsibilities. Prepare a timeline for each committee so they know when they need to complete each task. Leave room on each list for adding tasks that were not anticipated and that must be assigned to someone as they come up.

Supervision

Students should be given real responsibility, especially those who chair committees. The convention organizer/supervisor must be prepared to help those who are floundering and to replace those who simply are not doing their jobs.

It may be necessary to have a faculty advisor for each committee to answer questions and to assure the timely completion of tasks; or it may be possible for a single teacher to supervise the whole project through the steering committee. The amount of supervision that is needed will depend on the degree of responsibility and ability that students bring to their tasks, but some one person needs to keep close track of everything that needs to be done. Otherwise, the day of the mock convention may arrive with so many incomplete tasks that the event will be chaotic and meaningless.

This supervision includes the follow-up to see that reports and thank-you notes get written, clean-up accomplished, and evaluations compiled so the next time will be even better.

ACTIVITIES

Committees

Committees are chosen that will be responsible for the major task areas of the Mock Convention: state delegations, the platform, candidates, program arrangements, publicity, and physical arrangements. The chairs of these six committees comprise the steering committee.

State Delegations. The committee entrusted with organizing the state delegations has perhaps the key job in the mock convention organization. The state delegations are the heart of a successful mock convention and must be guided into the path of political realism.

Filling out the delegations can be done by allowing the delegation chairman to recruit members after he or she is selected. Or, all interested students (and faculty members) can apply for delegation memberships. The applicants can then be sorted out and assigned to fill all the delegations based as much as possible on their personal priorities.

Check with the national headquarters of the political party you have chosen to find out the number and distribution of delegates. There are well over 2000 delegates to Republican conventions, and over 4000 at Democratic conventions. There may therefore be insufficient students to fill all of the delegations. In such a situation, either scale down proportionally the sizes of the state delegations or have delegates in undermanned delegations cast more than one vote apiece.

Once chosen, the state delegations should immediately begin learning as much as possible about the politics and interests of the state they are representing. What platform planks are their state particularly interested in and why? Is the state party united or are there several factions? Does the state have a clear favorite candidate for the nomination or a prominent state political figure who may be a favorite son?

The state's Members of Congress and Senators from the party and the state party chairman are possible sources of such information. Obtaining newspapers from the state is another means of learning about its current politics and interests. Secondary sources, such as *The Almanac of American Politics*, are useful as histories of the state parties, indicators of the dynamics of politics within the state, and descriptions of the types of enduring conflicts within the state, all of which one might expect to be reflected in its delegation to the convention.

While educating itself accurately to play its role, that state delegation also begins gathering information on the activities of the other delegations. It establishes itself as an intelligence network to weigh the interests and politics of others. It sends out feelers to other mock delegations to learn whether they will join with them on the defense plank, or how hard they will fight against them on the farm plank. How

do others see a particular governor as a potential candidate? From this process of informal information gathering and of tacit bargaining with other delegations, the state delegation's political world view is completed and a firm definition of its own interests is formed. The best appreciation of what others are doing and will do is also obtained.

On the basis of this political world view, but subject to modification in the light of new intelligence, the state delegation formulates its strategies. It meets in delegation caucuses to decide tentatively which candidate to support initially, who to switch to if the initial candidate is unsuccessful, what type of bargains to try to strike with which other delegations, which platform planks are most important to them and how to secure adoption of these planks. The planning of strategies should be based on as accurate as possible a perception of their state's politics and interests and on an analysis of the activities of other delegations.

Platform Committee. The Platform Committee prepares background papers and policy suggestions on the major issues of current policy: foreign relations, civil rights, labor, agriculture, urban problems, etc. These papers are distributed to the state delegations and in the school. The committee is made up of at least one representative of each state delegation. This large committee is divided into subcommittees, each of which is concerned with a general policy area, such as national defense or welfare. These subcommittees hear testimony from interest groups and interested state delegations. At the hearings, each group presents a written statement of its views and answers questions from subcommittee members.

After the hearings, the subcommittees meet to adopt planks. Majority and minority planks are submitted on controversial issues. These tentative planks are then submitted to the entire committee to be debated and voted on again. Finally, a finished platform is submitted to the convention as a whole for adoption by the party as its official statement of policy. Here, once again, debate is allowed on controversial planks.

The party platform and this process of its formulation serve several purposes. The platform is an attempt to devise a declaration of party principles sufficiently broad to attract independent voters, yet sufficiently explicit in key areas to evoke enthusiastic support from party regulars. Some sensitive areas are slithered over or ignored and some traditional party war cries are affirmed. Republicans might pledge themselves to guard property rights while Democrats might stress human values.

Adoption of a platform is also one arena for building a coalition of leaders, delegations groups, and factions sufficiently strong and broad to nominate a candidate. The platform debates and votes are often preliminary tests of the strength of various aspirants for the nomination. Thus the formulation of a platform is directed not only at the election campaign to follow the convention, but it is also an important part of the convention itself. After the convention, it is supposed to rally the faithful, attract the independent, and unite the party.

In addition to these two critical areas of preparation for the Mock Convention, the appointment and education of the state delegations, and the platform process, several other somewhat less glamorous but nevertheless very important jobs remain to be done.

Candidates Committee. All delegates to the Mock Convention are in a sense members of a candidate committee. Each delegate should favor one of the presidential candidates. However, the process will be better organized and more realistic if a specific committee is selected and charged with the responsibility of assembling and distributing information about each of the party's presidential candidates. The committee should divide into subcommittees, each of whom is responsible for researching and promoting the candidacy of one candidate. The subcommittee functions as a campaign committee for that candidate, organizing and promoting the publicity, coalitions, platform positions, convention demonstrations and speeches, and strategy for their presidential candidate. They will have to work closely with the other committees to assure that every candidate has a fair hearing.

This committee devises the rules for campaigning and resolving any questions that arise. This responsibility can be a heavy one; success may depend on the ability of these committee members and faculty advisors to create clear guidelines and to resolve differences.

Program Committee. A program committee should be formed. The program committee arranges for speakers to be brought to the Mock Convention. Invitations to speak are sent to party leaders, political analysts, journalists, and others. An effort can be made to induce the major candidates or their campaign managers to visit. This committee is in charge of all aspects of speakers' visits.

The most important speaker that the program committee must get is a keynoter. If possible, this post should be filled by a prominent outsider. While an able student can, of course, be used, a Senator, Governor, Member of Congress, or presidential candidate stirs up more interest and is more likely to make the actual convention day more educational, exciting, and "realistic."

The keynoter sets the tone of the convention, rallying the party around the flag of party unity and exhorting it to battle against the evil opposition. The keynote address is often the emotional highlight of the convention. A noted party partisan with considerable oratorical ability is the ideal speaker.

This committee also selects the chairman of the Mock Convention. The chairman must preside effectively over the convention. In such a large group, confusion arises from points of order, contested delegations, speakers demanding recognition, and a multi-candidate roll call. A person with ability to handle these parliamentary tasks is to be sought.

The program committee is responsible for making up the program for the mock convention and getting it printed and distributed.

Publicity Committee. The publicity committee is in charge of publicity both on and off campus. On-campus publicity consists of, for example, announcements and articles in the school paper, announcements on the public address system, posters advertising the mock convention, and information about how students can participate in the various preparations for the convention. Off-campus publicity consists largely of establishing liaison with radio, television, and newspapers, supplying them with news releases, and keeping them alerted to important convention events and the appearances of well-known speakers.

Arrangements Committee. An arrangements committee arranges seating and decoration for the convention and it can be in charge of the convention "goon squad" that stops riots and grabs the bass drum when the chairman wants to end a floor demonstration. Cleaning up after the convention is another duty of the arrangements committee.

Steering Committee. As soon as all of the committee chairs have been elected or selected, they should meet at regular intervals with the faculty advisor or advisors as a steering committee. Each should report on the progress of his or her committee at each meeting so that nothing gets overlooked on the assumption that someone else is doing it and so that there is no duplication of effort. This also provides a quick check that none of the committees is getting behind on the schedule that must be met to have everything ready for the convention.

* * * * *

All of this planning, organization, and preparation, extremely valuable in themselves, reach their climax and attain their focus in the actual convention day. The task of a convention is to nominate candidates and draft a platform that will produce a victory in the general election. The convention also tries to unite the party in this effort to gain victory. A united party in the first place means a stronger effort to produce victory. In addition, the party must preserve its unity for the long term and for other elections. It must be able to live and fight another day should its candidate lose or to win another victory after its current candidate is no longer on the scene.

Having considered the platform process earlier, let us turn to the question of selecting a winning candidate. Who will be a winner and how can one tell? How does one recruit good presidential candidates? The nominating convention is the final stage in this recruitment process, and in the cases of "closed" conventions it only ratifies the already obvious choice. In the "open" convention, however, the convention is the place where all the indicators of a possible winner are stewed and distilled into the decision on a party nominee. The performance of the various candidates in the presidential preference primaries is one such indicator. Depending upon its scheduling, the Mock Convention may not have access to this important measure for evaluating candidates for the nomination.

However, several other equally important indices of a winner are available. What is the standing of a candidate in the public opinion polls? What has been his or her previous record of electoral success or failure: Is he or she a vote getter? How does a candidate stand within the party: based on his past service to the party and record, will the party workers go all out for him or her? Is the prospective nominee sufficiently "attractive" and well-known? Does his or her style suit our perceptions of the American political temperament: does he or she appear abrasive or bumbling, or does he or she radiate honesty, firmness, intelligence, and warmth? What are the candidate's personal or political liabilities: age, health, marital status, race, religion, sex, ability to work with party leaders, loyalty to the party, etc.? How do his or her policy preferences correspond to our knowledge of the preferences of the party's voters and others in the various states? In short, is he or she the person for whom enough voters in the right places will vote so as to give him a majority in the electoral college?

The Mock Convention proceedings generally extend over a full day. The keynote address is delivered and the platform is presented to the convention, plank by plank. The vote on the platform planks can be by voice with the chairman judging whether the "ayes" or the "nays" have it. Or, if the division of the convention is close and particularly when substitute planks are offered from the floor, the vote can be by a roll call of the states.

Then the chairman calls the roll of states for nominations for president. In delivering nominating speeches, supporters of the aspirants rise to the peak of their oratorical ability. Following the conclusion of each nominating speech, "spontaneous" demonstrations erupt on the convention floor and in the galleries. The demonstrations try to give the impression of an irresistible tidal wave for the candidate. Attempts are made to grab standards and bring them into the demonstration, noisemakers and horns erupt, balloons are released, banners are unfurled, and the delegates supporting the nominee shout themselves hoarse.

Once the serious contenders, dark horses, and favorite sons have all been placed in nomination, the voting begins. The roll of the states is called in alphabetical order. Some states cast all of their votes for one candidate, particularly if the state delegation has a binding or pledged caucus or if it is bound by the results of a presidential preference primary in the state. Other states divide their votes among several candidates. States early in the alphabetical order, for example, Alabama and Arizona, face the problem of committing themselves before a clear voting trend has appeared. They can pass and be called again at the end of the roll. Delegations may also change their vote before the final tally is announced. The vote of a state delegation as reported by its chairman can be challenged by a member of the delegation. In such a case the delegation is polled. If the first roll call does not result in a majority of the convention delegates for one candidate, as many additional roll calls are taken as is necessary to produce such a majority.

While the voting is in progress, supporters of the contenders are frantically at work attempting to build a winning coalition. A bandwagon is one of their most common strategies. They attempt to create the impression that their candidate will inevitably be the ultimate winner and that others should join in to support him to be in the good graces of the nominee. Jim Farley, Franklin Rosevelt's chief political strategist, devised an effective way to create this impression in addition to the usual floor and gallery demonstrations. At the 1932 Democratic convention, he held some Roosevelt votes in reserve on the first ballot, directing that they be cast for other candidates. Then on the next ballot these votes were called in to vote for Roosevelt, giving the impression that his strength was growing and that he was winning converts.

Coalitions are formed on the basis of shared interests and common perceptions of the political world. An alternate coalition strategy is the "anti" coalition. "Anti" coalitions are formed for the purpose of preventing someone's nomination although there is no agreement on an alternative.

Bargains are struck for second and third choices. "If your number one choice fails to exhibit much strength on the first couple of ballots, will you switch support to our man as your second choice?" The promise of support for someone as vice-presidential candidate is exchanged for support for a presidential nominee. Although all of the tactics and strategies employed at real conventions are not available at a Mock Convention (one cannot very well promise future Cabinet posts in the Mock Convention context), a wide, effective, and realistic array of strategies and tactics are within reach.

The selection of the right person is reached as one candidate soars over the mark, and an orgy of enthusiasm, noise, and acclamation breaks loose. The same process is then repeated in selecting a vice presidential candidate. Considerations of ticket balancing are weighed, political debts are collected, and the party ticket is completed.

By means of the Mock Convention, "book learning" and theoretical information have been transformed into action by simulating reality in the isolated school world.

Post-convention work includes the preparation of staff reports on the successes, problems, and failures of the convention. Stacks of "thank you" notes are sent off. All that remains is the wait to see how successful the attempt to second guess the national convention has been. Endless debates ensue over the strategies that should have been used, and the candidate who could have won, if only...!

MEASUREMENT

There should be a multitude of opportunities to evaluate research: written materials such as position papers, news releases, plans and schedules; oral presentations to committees, delegations, and the mock convention; and participation in the varied activities attendent on the convention.

FOLLOW-UP

Have each committee and subcommittee submit a brief report on what it did (along with copies of all materials produced), a timeline for when they did each, comments on what worked well and what did not, and suggestions for changes that they think would make the project more successful the next time. Keep all of these materials for guidance the next time the school does a mock convention.

RESOURCES

Outside speakers can make a great contribution to the effectiveness of a mock convention. Presidential candidates or their campaign staff, party officials, other candidates, officeholders, and former delegates to national political conventions can generate interest and answer questions to make the experience more realistic.

Information about the states can be obtained from encyclopedias; information about presidential candidates is widely reported in major newspapers and newsmagazines. Concise information on each state's political climate is updated every two years in *The Almanac of American Politics,* Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusas, and Douglas Matthew. The current edition can be ordered from the National Journal, Suite 1100, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, or call 800/424-2921.

Committee Responsibilities

State Delegations Committee

1. Use national party rules to determine the size of each state delegation.
2. Organize individual state delegations.
3. Chairpersons of all individual state delegations meet regularly to share information and take that information back to their state delegations.
4. Each state delegation researches its state's interests and politics, deciding its stands on platform planks and its preferences on candidates, and determining its strategy for the convention.
5. Other.

Platform Committee

1. Organize committee, with one member from each state delegation. Divide into subcommittees, for example: national defense, foreign policy, agriculture, labor, business, human services, education, civil rights, etc.?
2. Each subcommittee researches its area of interest, using newspaper and magazine reports, hearings if it wants, to write a platform plank stating the party's position on this topic. (See National Issues Forum under YOUTH PROGRAMS, p. 86.)
3. All the subcommittee reports are discussed and amended by the full platform committee and a draft platform written for the mock convention to consider.
4. Make copies of the platform and distribute them to all delegations.
5. Other.

Candidates Committee

1. Research the positions and electability of the party's presidential candidates.
2. Disseminate this information to all the state delegations.
3. Decide on and distribute campaign rules.
4. Create a subcommittee for each candidate to recruit a campaign committee for each presidential candidate.
5. Each candidate subcommittee works with the delegations to build support for its candidate.
6. Other.

Program Committee

1. Obtain national party rules; adapt for mock convention rules.
2. Invite and make arrangements for keynote speaker.
3. Invite other speakers to address delegates during convention preparation; for example, officeholders, candidates, campaign workers, party officials, former delegates to national conventions.
4. Prepare program (agenda) for mock convention.
5. Other.

Publicity

1. News releases/stories for school newspaper.
2. Announcements, posters in school.
3. Contacts with local media.
4. Contact with yearbook staff.
5. Other.

Arrangements Committee

1. Set up and decorate convention room.
2. Maintain order during convention.
3. Assure all equipment works during convention.
4. Clean up after convention.
5. Other.

Steering Committee

1. Composed of the chairs of each of the six committees (and faculty advisors?), plus the convention organizer/supervisor.
2. Meets frequently and regularly to monitor progress, resolve questions, share and disseminate information, and assign responsibilities.
3. Other.

SAMPLE TIME LINE (SIMPLIFIED)

Committee	Organizer & Steering	Delegations	Platform	Candidates	Program	Publicity	Arrangements
Week 1	Organize committees	Organize Choose chair Select state delegations & chairs	Select sub-committees & their chairs	Select candidate sub-committees & their chairs	Solicit suggestions for keynoter	Assign duties	Assign duties
Week 2	Committee chairs meet & report progress Resolve questions	Each Delegation research own state	Subcommittee hearings to solicit positions	Research own candidate	Invite keynoter Assign guest speakers	News release; School announcements; Posters for school with convention information	Visit site & plan arrangements
Week 3		Each delegation prepare report on own state	Subcommittees draft planks	Prepare report on candidate	Invite guest speakers Work on convention program	Contact media & yearbook School announcements	Prepare written report
Week 4		Delegation reports due Study candidate reports	Subcommittees prepare planks	Candidate reports due Study state reports	Assist guest speakers Assign duties for convention day	News release Follow up contacts	Fulfill individual assignments
Week 5		Delegations study reports of other states	Committee draft platform	Plan campaign	Draft convention program and get approved	Work with campaigners on posters School announcements	Prepare materials for convention
Week 6		Delegations plan convention presentations & strategies	Committee prepare final platform	Campaign	Confirm keynoter Assist guest speaker Prepare program	Prepare news releases and convention plans	
Week 7	Monitor final preparations	Finalize plans & convention presentations	Print and distribute draft platform	Final campaigning Finalize speeches & demonstrations & convention preparations	Finalize preparations Print convention programs	Final news releases & contact media FInalize convention preparations	Finalize preparations
Week 8 MOCK CONVENTION	Monitor and supervise	Negotiate Vote Demonstrate	Prqent platform	Nominate candidates Campaign; Coordinate convention demonstrations	Conduct convention Assist speakers	News release Assist media & yearbook photos & report convention	Arrange and decorate room Assist and monitor convention
Week 9	Write thank-you letters Evaluations reports due					Wrap up article in school paper	Clean up

REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

We do not have sufficient numbers of some materials to be able to provide copies for students. However, if you need additional copies for teachers or if you need other materials that we have available, please use this form (or a facsimile) to request them. If you have any questions, call Peg Rosenfield at 614/466-2804.

Publication	Number of copies
Political Participation (for teachers)	_____
Ohio Citizen's Digest (for teachers)	_____
Manual of Ohio Government (for teachers)	_____
Voter Information Guide brochures (for teachers & students; updated annually)	_____
Statewide (out-of-county) mail registration forms (for teachers & students)	_____
Posters ("You may register to vote here") (for teachers)	_____

Send to

Name _____ Title _____

School _____

School Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

County _____ ( ) - Daytime phone

Received: Sent:

Mail to: Peg Rosenfield
Office of the Secretary of State
30 East Broad Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, OH 43266-0418

RESOURCE TEACHERS

If you would like to be a resource person for other teachers who want to initiate political participation activities in their schools, please complete the following form and send it to:

Peg Rosenfield
Office of the Secretary of State
30 East Broad Street, 14th Floor
Columbus, OH 43266-0418

The form will be reproduced and forwarded to teachers who request information about that kind of activity. If you have done more than one activity, please copy this form and send a separate form for each activity. If you have questions, please call 614/466-2804.

Type of activity
Brief summary of activity
Name of teacher/coordinator — Title
Name of school
School address
City — Zip
County — Daytime phone(area code/number)